Changing dimensions of cultural consumption? Social space and space of lifestyles in Switzerland from 1976 to 2013

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Jörg Rössel, Dr., is professor of sociology at the Department of Sociology at the University of Zurich. His main research interests include economic sociology, the sociology of consumption, migration and sociological theory. His publications appeared in European Societies, European Sociological Review, Journal of Consumer Culture, Poetics, Population, Space and Place, Rationality and Society, Sociological Quarterly and Sociological Perspectives.

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In the present study we trace transformations of the Swiss space of lifestyles during the past four decades. The sociological discussion suggests that lifestyle practices were once structured by a highbrow-lowbrow distinction, whereas today cultural omnivorism, eclecticism, broad engagement, or cosmopolitanism should be prevalent. Furthermore, Bourdieu's homology thesis claims that cultural consumption is closely linked with class structures, which is contested by recent individualisation arguments. So, we ask two questions here: First, what are the main axes of the Swiss space of lifestyles and how do they develop over time? Second, how does the association between the space of lifestyles and the space of social positions evolve over time? We find that cultural practices in Switzerland are primarily structured by a dimension differentiating between engagement in a wide range of activities and disengagement, followed, secondly, by a highbrow-popular distinction. Accordingly, we identify an "inactive", an "intense highbrow" and a "moderate eclectic" consumption pattern. Although this configuration is quite stable over time, structural correlates of lifestyles are changing. Most importantly, indicators of vertical social position like education or occupational status are correlated with broad cultural engagement today, whereas they have been correlated with highbrow activities in the 1970s. Instead, age emerged as the main structuring factor of highbrow-popular disparities.

1. Introduction

Bourdieu's (1984) homology thesis is the most important starting point of discussions on cultural consumption. Its basic assumption is that individuals' class position, habitus, and lifestyles are intertwined. More specifically, the space of lifestyles is arranged homologously to the space of social positions[1], so that high status persons follow highbrow practices and low status persons lowbrow practices. The space of lifestyles itself is thus dominated by a vertical axis juxtaposing legitimate highbrow culture and popular lowbrow culture.

However, these claims have been criticised as to whether they still hold today and in other contexts than France. First, the relevance of highbrow and lowbrow culture has been challenged by the finding that contemporary consumption is mostly structured according to the breadth of cultural forms appreciated (omnivorousness; Peterson and Kern, 1996). Subsequently, several lifestyle dimensions have been proposed: the engagement-disengagement axis classifies persons according to their overall cultural participation (Bennett et al., 2009; Le Roux et al., 2008; Roose et al., 2012); the voraciousness dimension is targeted at the overall frequency of leisure activities (Ollivier, 2008; Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007); and the global-local dimension separates locally oriented consumers from those with a cosmopolitan orientation (Meuleman and Savage, 2013; Rössel and Schroedter, 2015).

Second, the homologous relationship between lifestyles and social positions has been questioned. On the one hand, it is proposed to elaborate positional measurements, either by differentiating between economic and cultural indicators (van Eijck and Bargeman, 2004; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012) or by including additional socio-demographic indicators (Bihagen and Katz-Gerro, 2000; Christin, 2012; Coulangeon, 2013; Meuleman and Savage, 2013; Schulze, 1992). On the other hand, it is argued that lifestyles are increasingly decoupled from social positions, generating individualised lifestyles (Bauman, 1988; Beck, 1992).

Empirical assessments of these transformations are, however, not readily achievable. Some developments are similarly observable in several countries (e.g. the emergence of something akin to an omnivorousness dimension; Peterson, 2005), whereas other developments are country-specific, (e.g. lacking evidence for omnivorousness in Germany; Neuhoff, 2001; Rössel, 2006). Hence, we have to keep in mind Giddens' (1985) warning not to infer from one seemingly advanced or traditional country the future or past of other countries. The fact that cultural omnivorousness is prominent in the US is no indication for the future of other countries, just as the dominance of the highbrow-lowbrow distinction in 1960s France does not allow for the conclusion that this is the past of all societies. Consequently, comparisons of

[1] Conjointly, the "space of lifestyles" and the "space of social positions" form the "social space".

cross-sectional data from different countries at different times are not well suited to generalise trends in social space. Instead we need longitudinal studies of individual countries, examining transformations in a systematic way. The purpose of this paper is to evaluate these claims based on a rather long time perspective focussing on Switzerland as one of the most economically advanced countries.

We track cultural and social change in Switzerland over four decades by comparing data from three points in time (1976, 1988, 2013) using the same methodology as Bourdieu used to establish his major theses. Thus, we are not only able to compare his findings for France with Switzerland, but follow cultural participation patterns over a rather long time frame. Switzerland makes for an informative case study, since it exhibits extremely high levels of economic modernity and economic security, with a rather slow educational expansion and a rather conservative culture. We concentrate on two questions: First, what are the main dimensions of the Swiss space of lifestyles (highbrow-lowbrow, engagement-disengagement, etc.) and how do they develop over time? Second, how does the association between the space of lifestyles and the space of social positions develop (homology, differentiation, individualisation)? Before presenting the results of our empirical analysis we expand on theoretical developments in cultural consumption research and discuss the macro-structural determinants of cultural transformations for the Swiss case in order to develop hypotheses on the specific situation of this society.

2. The space of lifestyles and its transformations

Following Bourdieu (1984) lifestyles are practical manifestations of the habitus which in turn can be envisaged as a mental representation of a person's class position. Inherent to this class-habitus-practice trilogy is the idea of a homology between the structure (or: space) of lifestyles and the class structure (space of social positions). Lifestyles, then, are mainly aligned with a dimension separating legitimate (highbrow) from popular (lowbrow) practices. Legitimate cultural activities, e. g. classical music or contemporary art, follow an aesthetic favouring form over substance, and are highly valued by the majority of a society. In contrast, popular activities, like popular music or mainstream movies, follow an aesthetic favouring substance over form, and enjoy, even though widespread, only limited valuation. This highbrow-lowbrow differentiation is tied to social positions via class specific tastes (habitus). As members of lower social strata are only scantily endowed with cultural and economic capital they cultivate a "taste of necessity" guiding them towards lowbrow cultural practices which in

turn reinforces their social position. Members of higher strata, in contrast, due to their rich endowment with cultural and economic capital, cultivate a "taste of distinction" resulting in highbrow lifestyles suitable for distinction from others and thus affirming their superior position. Finally, intermediate classes with a middle-sized stock of capital seek to ascend on the social ladder by imitating the higher classes' cultural consumption patterns. However, since they, due to the upper classes' power to define what is legitimate, will always fall short of subtle standards, they are described to be motivated by "cultural goodwill".

Although this is only a coarse sketch of Bourdieu's analysis neglecting much of its refinements (especially the capital composition dimension of the social space), it is suited as a starting point for the present study. In the following two sections we will present arguments contesting the dominance of the highbrow-lowbrow dimension in the space of lifestyles and its close association with the space of social positions.

2.1. Transformations of main dimensions

Peterson (1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996) found that, at least in the US, persons holding tastes for highbrow cultural forms like classical music *additionally* exhibit positive attitudes towards middle- and lowbrow forms like rock music. He concluded that the highbrow-lowbrow distinction has been replaced by a dimension sorting cultural consumers according to the *breadth* of their tastes and thus juxtaposing persons with a wide range of tastes (omnivores) and persons with a more narrow taste (univores; also see van Eijck, 2001)[2].

An important qualification to make here is between the attitudinal and the behavioural aspects of lifestyles. Omnivorousness predominantly refers to an appreciation of different cultural forms. Thus, primarily statements about peoples' preferences, dispositions, or tastes are implied. But these are not necessarily in accordance with peoples' actual cultural participation which is dependent on additional factors like availability and affordability (Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). Recent publications have shown that the major dimension structuring cultural participation is along a continuum between the poles of *engagement* and *disengagement*. At one end we find a statistical cluster of those who engage in several different activities, while at the other we find a group that is disengaged and spends much time at home, maybe watching TV or listening to the radio (Bennett, 2006; Le Roux et al., 2008; Roose et al., 2012). Coulangeon (2013) argues that the engagement axis is related to the highbrow-lowbrow axis, since on the engaged pole we find more highbrow oriented activities. Sullivan

[2] In fact, basic ideas of omnivorousness already appear in Bourdieu's writings, e.g. when portraying the new petite bourgeoisie (1984: 354-371).

and Katz-Gerro (2010; 2007) further qualify the engagement-disengagement dimension by distinguishing the *range* of different activities a person chooses from the *frequency* of such behaviours. They refer to this second aspect as *voraciousness* which is seen as typical of modern consumers who are insatiable in their search for new experiences (also see Ollivier, 2008).

Irrespective of whether one focuses on tastes or participation, the space of lifestyles seems to be increasingly dominated by the distinction of people who are rather disengaged and those who choose quite freely from the smorgasbord of highbrow, popular, and global cultural forms propelled by the progressive differentiation of genres and the proliferation of offerings of the cultural industries (Aspers and Godart, 2013; Dowd, 2011; Schulze, 1992). In the case of tastes this phenomenon is preferably denoted as omnivorousness, in the case of participation the terms engagement or eclecticism are more accurate, because they capture the breadth of actual activities (Jæger and Katz-Gerro, 2010; also see Robette and Roueff, 2014). Nevertheless, highbrow-lowbrow distinctions still seem to be the second most important structuring factor (Bennett et al., 2009; Meuleman and Savage, 2013; Roose et al., 2012).

2.2. Transformations of associations with the space of social positions

Bourdieu considered highbrow snobbery as means of distinction helping the upper classes maintaining their social position. If the highbrow-lowbrow axis has indeed been replaced as main structuring factor of the space of lifestyles, one conclusion could be that broad cultural engagement is now serving this goal. Indeed, especially the educated, upper-middle classes exhibit high levels of engagement or omnivorousness, seemingly functioning according to a logic of distinction (also see Reeves, 2014; Tampubolon, 2008; critical: Daenekindt and Roose, 2014). So, the notion of homology between lifestyles and social positions did not simply disappear during the "highbrow meltdown". Rather the evaluations of certain cultural forms as legitimate seem to have shifted (DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004).

Apart from that, the idea of homology relating lifestyles to social classes should be differentiated. As van Eijck and Bargeman (2004) have shown for the Netherlands, some forms of homology are losing in importance (e. g. income and lifestyles), whereas others (age, education and lifestyles) are gaining relevance. Yaish and Katz-Gerro (2012) find evidence for Israel that economic resources are rather related to cultural participation whereas cultural resources are related to taste. Additionally, socio-demographic variables are found to be of significance, e.g. gender-specific differences with regard to highbrow (Bihagen and Katz-

Gerro, 2000; Christin, 2012) and voracious consumption (Katz-Gerro and Sullivan, 2010), or age related distinctions in musical tastes (Coulangeon, 2013; Meuleman and Savage, 2013; Schulze, 1992). Hence, due to both changes in the evaluation of cultural forms and quite complex interactions between class and non-class indicators, the homology thesis today needs to be deployed in a more multifaceted way.

Some authors have even argued that the relevance of vertical social positions for lifestyles is generally waning (Bauman, 1988; Beck, 1992). It is claimed that, mainly due to the expansion of material wealth and educational credentials, lifestyle choices nowadays are made independently of long-lasting group affiliations. This, in turn, leads towards a society where everybody creates her individual temporary lifestyle including the emerging and quick dissolving of fleeting lifestyle communities. In general most empirical investigations show that lifestyles are still linked with vertical status variables like education, income, and occupation (see above; also see Atkinson, 2007). However, there are also studies corroborating the individualisation argument, at least partially. Gerhards et al. (2013) find decreasing class-lifestyle correlations going along with increasing modernity levels of EU countries (also see Kohler 2005). For Switzerland, Buchmann and Eisner (1997) infer increasing individualisation from the constant expansion of expressive self-concepts since the 1950s, at least twenty years prior to Beck's scheduling.

3. Causes of transformations in Switzerland

Since there is no overarching theory explaining the transformation of the space of lifestyles, we distilled several macro-structural factors of cultural change from the relevant literature. We look for specifics of the Swiss society which might lead to results deviating from Bourdieu's thesis. Additionally, we look for social developments which might influence the space of lifestyles. On this basis we are able to develop theoretical expectations for the Swiss society.

First, in the omnivorousness debate, rising *mobility and population heterogeneity* rates were put forward as structural causes for the increasing prevalence of cultural tolerance and wide-ranging tastes (DiMaggio, 1987; Peterson, 2005; Peterson and Kern, 1996). The underlying argument is based on the assumption that social networks become less homogeneous as both social and spatial mobility and international migration grow. In such networks distinction based on highbrow snobbery will not work well because a broad set of cultural knowledge and interests – functioning as kind of lubricant for interaction and communication – is de-

manded in these contexts. This, in turn, fosters people being more flexible, tolerant, and open-minded regarding cultural tastes. In addition, mobility and migration bring about less narrow ranges of taste and engagement through individual trajectories: as more people change their social or spatial position they will not only adhere to tastes and activities of their origin but also adopt those of their destination which increases the heterogeneity of their tastes and activities (Daenekindt and Roose, 2013, 2014; van Eijck, 1999).

Second, one can expect *value change* and ensuing developments in cultural discourse and policy to have an impact on the lifestyle space (Coulangeon, 2013; Fishman and Lizardo, 2013; Peterson, 2005). Value change towards post-materialism and self-expression should come along with tolerance towards different cultures, thus reducing highbrow snobbery and increasing omnivorousness. This, in turn, ought to find its expression in changing cultural discourses and policies becoming less concentrated on traditional highbrow culture. As a result, new opportunity structures open up spaces for the development of alternative and popular culture as well as crossovers between these art forms and classical highbrow culture (Coulangeon, 2013; Janssen et al., 2011).

Third, Beck (1992) stressed that increasing levels of *wealth, income and education* stimulate a decoupling of lifestyles from vertical social positions ("elevator effect"). Yet, several authors offered more thoroughgoing differentiations of this hypothesis. Educational expansion seems to be relevant for the decline of the correlation between educational attainment and highbrow culture, whereas increasing economic resources should predominantly involve reduced levels of homology between class and cultural engagement (Coulangeon, 2013; Gerhards et al., 2013; Notten et al., 2014).

In Switzerland, the setting regarding these macro characteristics is mixed within our period of observation. On the one hand, Switzerland is a rather conservative country with a social structure allowing for only moderate, however rising levels of mobility. On the other hand, Switzerland has one of the highest immigration rates in the world, increasing population heterogeneity. At the same time, the values of Switzerland's population did indeed shift towards post-materialism and self-expression and their share is comparatively high (Buchmann and Eisner, 1997; Inglehart and Welzel, 2005; Steenbergen and Leimgruber, 2010). However, liberal values regarding arts and culture emerged quite late in Switzerland. Up to the 1980s cultural policy was pretty much oriented towards traditional culture. Only then new forms of popular culture emerged in urban areas where alternative entertainment, bars, and theatres flourished (Klaus, 2006). Yet, this development seems to have had only a small impact on cultural discourse. An analysis of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the leading daily in German-

speaking Switzerland, shows that the strong predominance of highbrow culture in cultural reporting did not recede in the last twenty-five years (Moreno, 2014). All in all, developments in the spheres of social mobility, population heterogeneity, value change, cultural policy and cultural discourse yield the following expectation:

1) In the period between 1976 and 2013 there is a certain, though not complete transformation towards broad engagement as main dimension of the Swiss space of lifestyles.

Furthermore, Switzerland has been among the most economically advanced countries during the whole 20th century and especially in the 1970s. Since then Switzerland has followed a somewhat slower pace with a rather limited growth in GDP but it still is one of the richest countries worldwide. Together with constantly low levels of unemployment and inflation this procures a very safe and stable environment. Switzerland's educational expansion, in contrast, was rather slow which is mainly due to its well-established sector of vocational education (Becker and Zangger, 2013). Thus, higher education is not broadly distributed in the Swiss population and the inequality of educational opportunities is comparatively high. Consequently, we expect:

2) The statistical relationship between vertical social position and level of cultural engagement is weak and decreasing from 1976 to 2013.
3) The association between educational attainment and highbrow cultural consumption is strong and slowly decreasing from 1976 to 2013.

4. Empirical investigation

4.1. Data and analytical strategy

In order to empirically trace changes in the social space of Switzerland we resort to survey data from three points in time, 1976, 1988, and 2013. The period under investigation widely overlaps with the theoretically discussed chronological location of major developments in the field: the supposed expansion of individualised lifestyles and the ascent of the cultural omnivore.

The analytical strategy pursued here is geared to the empirical ideas put forward in *Distinction*. We will construct the space of lifestyles and the space of social positions, separately for the three surveys, by means of multiple correspondence analysis (MCA; using

STATA). Only variables referring to lifestyles will actively contribute to the spanning of the space, whereas social position indicators will subsequently be projected into this space as passive (supplementary) variables (cf. Le Roux and Rouanet, 2010). The comparison of three individual spaces enables us to observe temporal changes in (1) the configuration of the space lifestyles and (2) the relationship between lifestyles and the space of social positions over a long period of time. The latter question will also be answered by applying regression techniques to the main dimensions of the space of lifestyles, using social position indicators as explanatory variables. An alternative strategy, as proposed by Rosenlund (this special issue), would be to construct the space of lifestyles at one point in time and project the other two spaces into it as supplementary variables. This method, however, requires virtually identical variables in all surveys. Since our data do not entirely fulfil this requirement, we decided for a strategy allowing for more degrees of freedom.

Nevertheless, a major prerequisite of comparative research is the availability of comparable empirical information (e.g. Peterson, 2005). First, this requires data which allow for the reconstruction of the Swiss social space at various points in time. We found three (independently conducted) surveys which meet this requirement (see table 1): in 1976 a survey on

Table 1: Descriptive information of datasets and MCA solutions.

	1976	**1988**	**2013**
Population	Resident population of Switzerland, aged 15-74	Resident population of Switzerland, aged 15+ (restricted to 15-74)	Resident population of Switzerland, aged 14+ (restricted to 15-74)
N (full)	1'066	45'386	6'472
N (MCA)[(1)]	1'056	24'004	5'531
Active modalities	12 variables, 36 categories (avg. contr.: 2.78%)	12 variables, 36 categories (avg. contr.: 2.78%)	12 variables, 36 categories (avg. contr.: 2.78%)
Total inertia	0.0362	0.0351	0.0348
MCA dimensions (% inertia)	Dimension 1: 54.8 % Dimension 2: 18.2 % Dimension 3: 3.7 % Dimension 4: 3.0 % Dimension 5: 1.2 %	Dimension 1: 60.4 % Dimension 2: 9.3 % Dimension 3: 5.9 % Dimension 4: 2.7 % Dimension 5: 0.8 %	Dimension 1: 43.2 % Dimension 2: 26.8 % Dimension 3: 11.4 % Dimension 4: 1.5 % Dimension 5: 0.5 %

[(1)] The reduction of cases in the MCA sample is due to list-wise deletion.

"Les comportements et la mobilité en matière de loisirs et de vacances en Suisse" (N=1'066; cf. Lalive d'Epinay et al., 1982), in 1988 a module on leisure and culture of the Swiss sample census (*Mikrozensus*; N=45'386; cf. BfS, 1990), and in 2013 the 15th wave of the "Swiss Household Panel (SHP)" (N=6'472; cf. Voorpostel et al., 2014). Although the three surveys differ somewhat in kind and number of questions asked, each of them includes variables on cultural consumption and leisure activities as well as on the social position of individuals.

Second, in order to promote comparability between MCA solutions, selection of active variables needs to be kept constant. As regards content, all lifestyle-variables reflect participation in cultural and leisure activities. The selection of activities was guided by the objectives (1) to embrace both highbrow and popular activities, and (2) to include into each of these groups domestic as well as non-domestic activities. Most importantly, the number of variables in each sub-group is the same in all years (table 2). Yet, despite considerable overlaps, the three surveys do not contain exactly the same variables. In particular, it has to be noted that the 1988 survey includes some composite questions which ask for the frequency of more than one leisure activity ("highbrow cultural events", "popular cultural events", "clubs/cinemas/entertainment venues", see table 2). As a consequence, these questions will be positively answered by larger groups of participants and are thus not perfectly comparable to

Table 2: Active variables used for MCAs.

	Highbrow leisure activities		**Popular leisure activities**	
	Non-domestic	**Domestic**	**Non-domestic**	**Domestic**
1976	▪ Concert ▪ Theatre ▪ Museum	▪ Read books ▪ Read paper ▪ Make music	▪ Cinema ▪ Sport event ▪ Bar/Club	▪ Watch TV ▪ Listen radio ▪ DIY(1)
1988	▪ High. cult. ev.(2) ▪ Furth. educat.(3) ▪ Cult. activity(4)	▪ Books: highbr.(5) ▪ Paper: highbr.(6) ▪ Play instr.	▪ Popular cult. ev.(7) ▪ Sport event ▪ Club/cinema/entert.	▪ Watch TV ▪ Listen radio ▪ DIY(1)
2013	▪ Opera/Cl.Con. ▪ Theatre ▪ Museum	▪ Read books ▪ Read paper ▪ Make music	▪ Cinema ▪ Sport event ▪ Disco/Club	▪ Watch TV ▪ PC games ▪ DIY(1)

(1) Do It Yourself.
(2) Opera, theatre, classical concerts, art exhibitions.
(3) E.g. evening classes, not at home.
(4) Choir, orchestra, theatre (active participation)
(5) Serious, science, arts literature.
(6) Feature pages, cultural affairs.
(7) Rock concerts, jazz concerts, theatre festival, cabaret, vernissage.

single activity questions as used in the other surveys. But still, distinctions between highbrow and popular, and domestic and non-domestic lifestyle components are clearly assignable in all years.

Third, active and passive variables' categorisation (modalities) need to be constant over time. Therefore, all leisure activity measures – which all were surveyed as frequencies – were given a trichotomous coding so as to differentiate whether they are performed never (0), sometimes (1), or often (2) (see table A1). Our recoding strategy is identical in every year: the category indicating the lowest frequency is always 0; for the remaining categories two quantiles are built and allocated to 1 and 2 accordingly, so that 1 and 2 are as similar in relative frequency as possible (for more details, including the original question wordings, see tables OA2-OA4 in the online appendix). In this manner it is possible to distinguish between different levels of intensity of cultural consumption. Analogously, variables constituting the space of social positions (esp. education and occupational status[3]) were recoded with identical categorisations over years (see table A2). Unfortunately, however, the 1988 survey lacks information on income. Generally, when mapping the space of social positions, in order to incorporate several of the determinants mentioned in the relevant literature, we extend Bourdieu's class conception by additionally incorporating age, gender, citizenship, denomination, and region of residence besides education, occupational status, and income.

Fourth, comparability between the surveys demands identical population selection and sampling procedures. All three samples used here refer to the resident population of Switzerland within the age range from 15 to 74 years. As the original target populations of the 1988 and 2013 surveys exceed this age range they were restricted post hoc (table 1). However, interview techniques are not identical in all years. Whereas in 1976 participants were interviewed face-to-face, they had to fill in the questionnaire in written form in 1988. In 2013 participants were contacted by telephone and interviewed by means of CATI systems. Nevertheless, sampling procedures in all surveys follow a stratified random selection of communities, households, and target subjects.[4] Another drawback of sample comparability concerns the high amount of missing values in the 1988 MCA sample (see table 1). We found that 88 per cent of these missings are due to lacking information in at least one of the lifestyle-variables

[3] Occupational status is based on the 8-category version of the Swiss socio-professional categories (CSP; Levy and Joye 1994). Original categories 1 and 2 were combined to "Top executives/professionals", original categories 5 and 6 were combined to "Other employees/officers". Categories "Students/apprentices" and "Retirees" were included additionally.

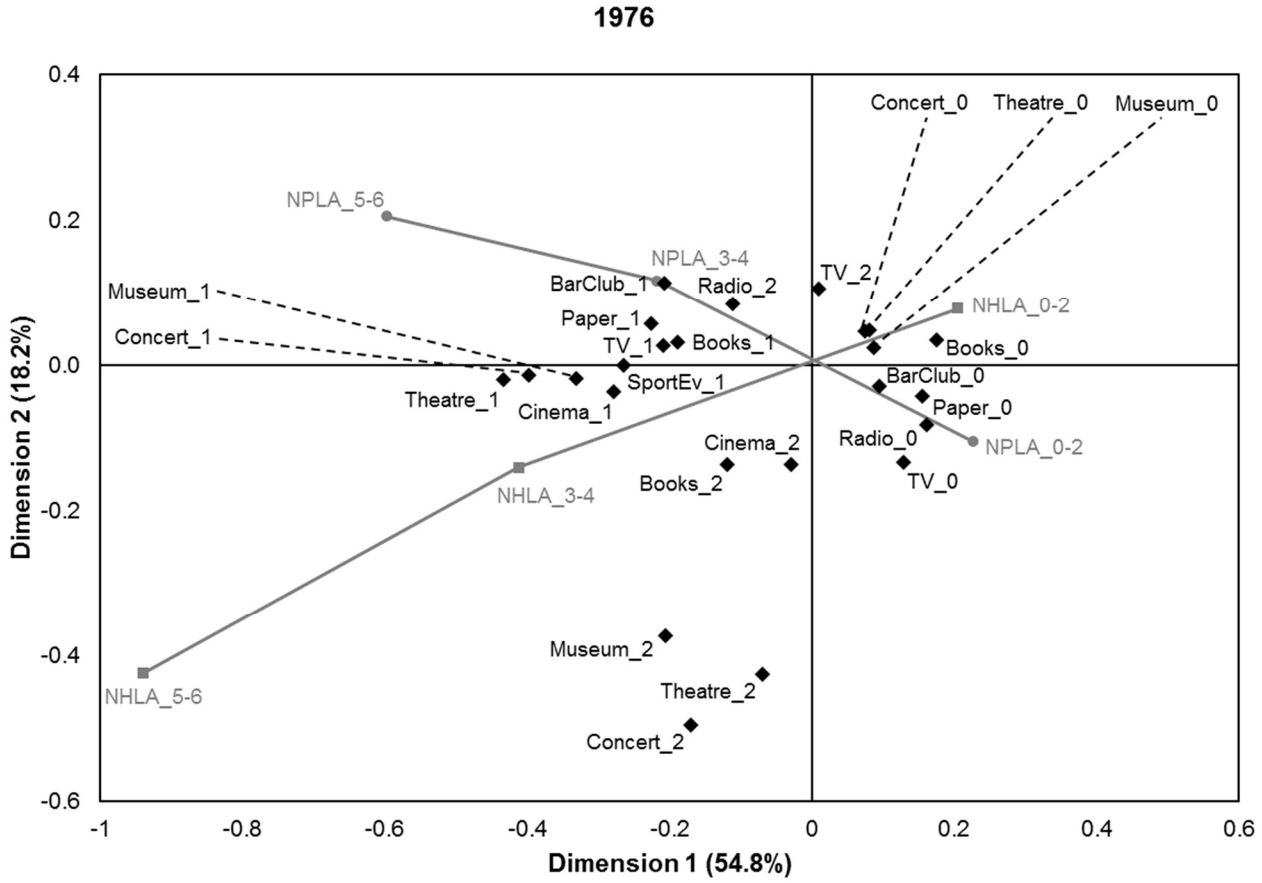
[4] Yet, they diverge from each other by allowing for only one interviewee per household in 1976, and multiple interviewees per household in 1988 and 2013 (see table OA1 in the online appendix). Therefore, we recalculated the 1988 and 2013 analyses using only one randomly drawn person per household (500 repetitions). As you can see from table OA8 in the online appendix the results do not substantively differ from those presented here.

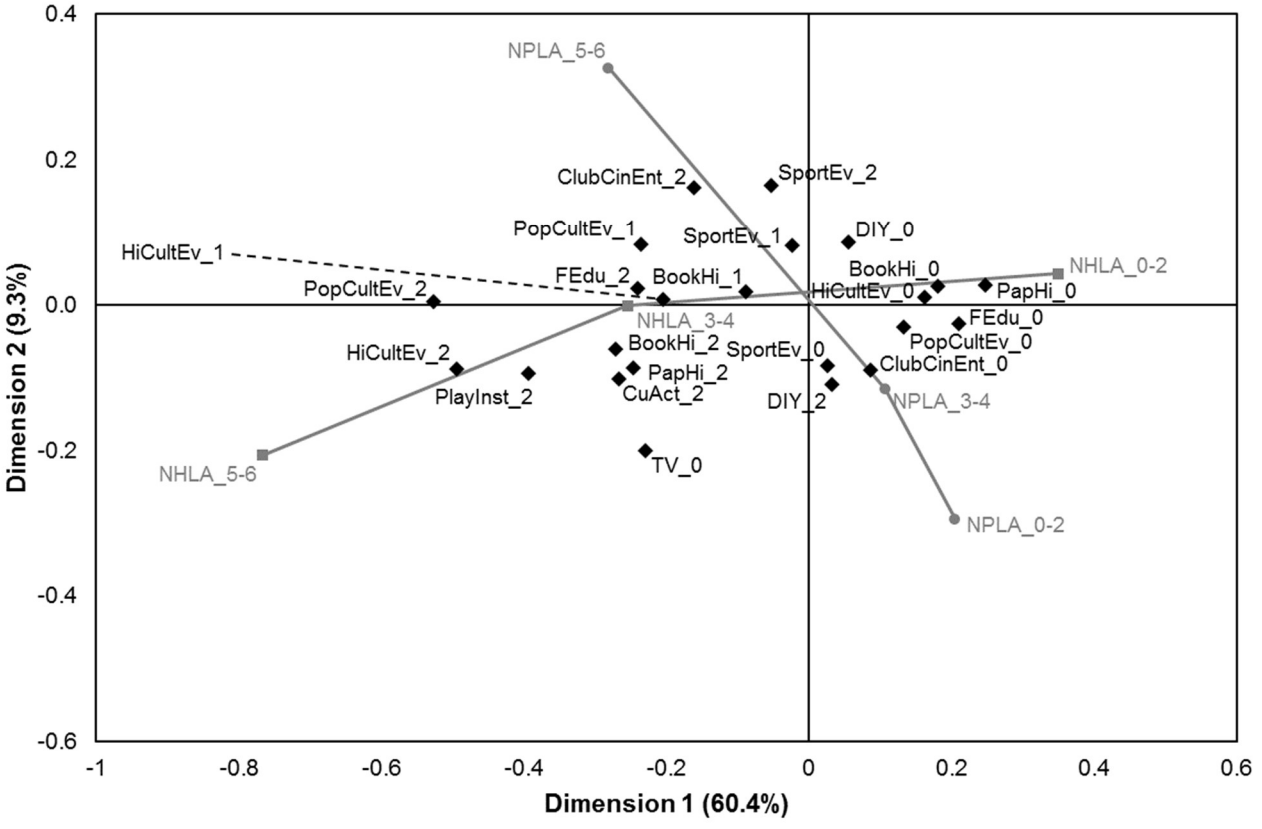
(list-wise deletion). We also found that the elderly (aged 55-74) and persons with only compulsory education are particularly prone to lack this information. Consequently, these two groups are considerably under-represented in our 1988 sample. However, we did not find any specific pattern of missing data for these groups: some cases miss information in only one, others in some, and still others in all lifestyle variables. Concurrently, some lifestyle-variables exhibit only few, others some, and still others many missing values. Hence, the high amount of missings among the elderly and the lower educated in 1988 is not attributable to systematic selectivity of lifestyle-variables. Rather, we believe that the confusing questionnaire design (it is not entirely clear at first sight where to mark, how many marks per question are allowed, etc.) in combination with the written form of data collection might be the reason, which both is more challenging for those groups.

Collectively, the procedures described make for a well, though not perfectly, comparable database. It's a compilation of very rich information allowing to draw a comprehensive picture of the space of lifestyles in Switzerland, its relationship to the space of social positions, and its dynamics between 1976 and 2013. In order to assess the severity of the limitation in comparability we performed some robustness checks of our analyses. We re-calculated all our analyses using different subsamples of the data (e.g. omitting the 55-74 age group in all years; see table OA7 in the online appendix) and different variables and recoding procedures entering the MCAs. In neither case did we find any substantive deviations from the results presented here. Additionally, we compared the age and educational structures of our samples with official Swiss statistics (see tables OA5 and OA6 and figures OA2 and OA3 in the online appendix). Apart from the aforementioned under-representation of the elderly in 1988, the groups aged 15-24 and aged 15-44 are slightly under-represented in 1976 and 2013 respectively. The educational structures of our samples, then, do represent the development of the Swiss educational structure very well[5], except for compulsory education being slightly under-represented in 2013. We have to take these limitations into account when interpreting our results, even though all our analyses focus on associations among variables, where "representativeness" is only of secondary importance as long as all relevant social groups are represented in the data to a statistically sufficient degree.

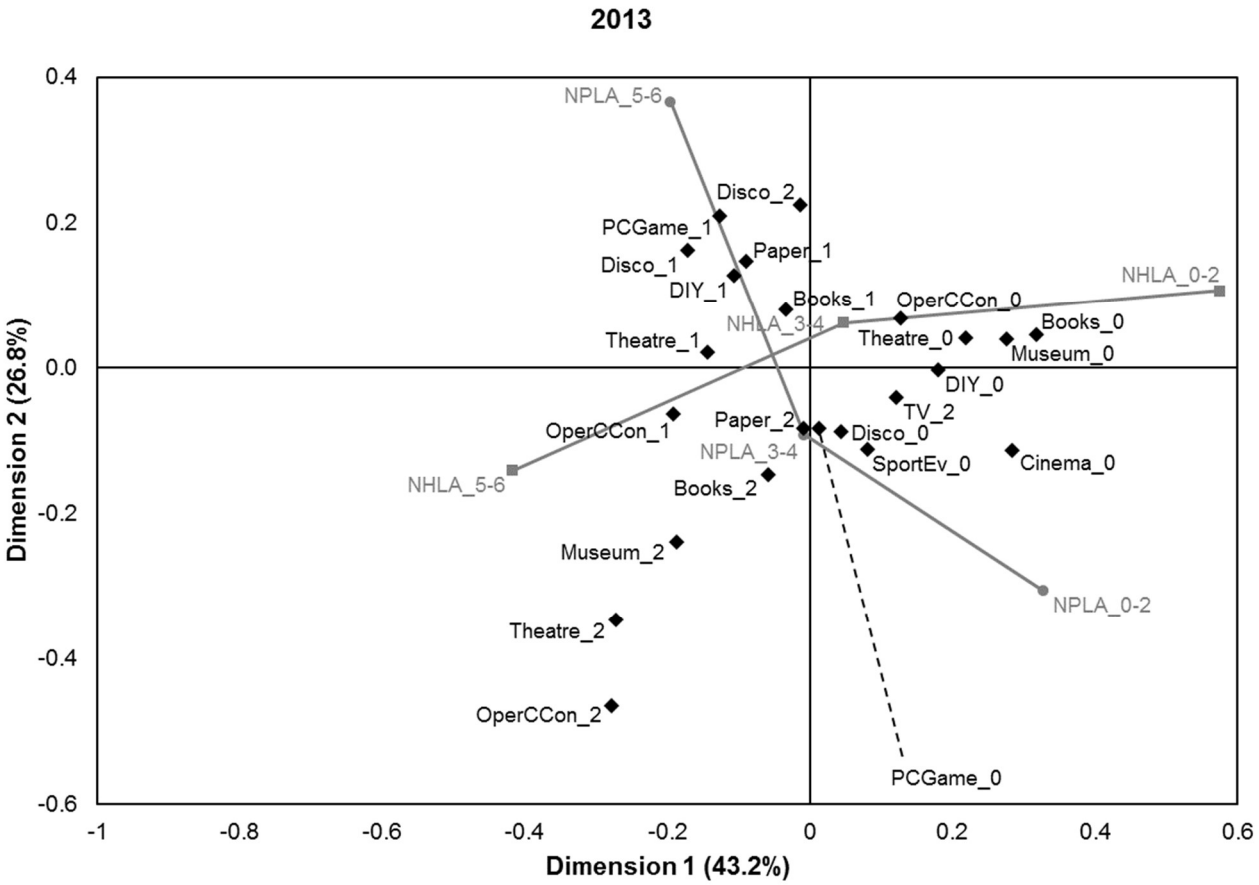
[5] Note that the figures of the official statistics are not directly comparable to our samples in the case of education as they refer to an older population (aged 15 and older).

Figure 1: The space of lifestyles in Switzerland 1976, 1988, and 2013; using MCA (life-styles as active modalities).





(figure 1 continued)



Note: Principal normalization. Leisure activities as active modalities. Individual number of highbrow leisure activities (NHLA) and individual number of popular leisure activities (NPLA) as passive modalities (grey markers and lines). Dotted lines do not have any substantial meaning but only connect markers and labels.

4.2. The Swiss space of lifestyles from 1976 to 2013

Swiss lifestyles spaces in 1976, 1988, and 2013 are depicted in figure 1; descriptive statistics and active modalities' axis-contributions of the underlying MCAs can be read from table 1 and A1. First of all, the size of total inertia (ranging from 0.0348 to 0.0363) as well as its distribution to the dimensions/axes extracted is quite stable over time. In each year, the first two dimensions account for approximately 70 per cent of inertia, with the first dimension being the dominant one (43.2 to 60.4 per cent). This means that there is a stable overall variance of leisure activities which can be largely captured by two main dimensions. Note, however, that the percentage of inertia explained by dimension 1 (dimension 2) is smaller (larger) in 2013 than in 1976, and that the third dimension seems to slightly gain in importance over time. Also note that dimension 2 is less pronounced in 1988 than in the other years. Most likely, this is a methodical artefact due to the under-representation of the elderly and the three composite questions used in this survey (see above). Such questions do not discriminate between different groups of cultural consumers as precisely as single activity questions, leading to less variability. Keeping all this in mind, we focus our interpretations on the first two dimensions of each year's MCA solution.

When interpreting the axes of each year's MCA, we focus on active modalities with above-average axis-contribution (see table A1; others not presented in figure 1). Again, remarkable over-time-similarities are revealed. On the right side of all three graphs of figure 1 there are almost exclusively 0-value modalities indicating lacking engagement in both highbrow and popular leisure activities (except for watching TV). In contrast, the left sides show only 1- and 2-values suggesting moderate and intense participation in both kinds of activities. Therefore, the first and most relevant axis of the Swiss space of lifestyles is an *engagement-disengagement* dimension, and there is no change in this from the 1970s onward. However, as frequency levels (0, 1, 2) are not steadily aligned with dimension 1, broad engagement in cultural activities does not necessarily come along with increasing *voraciousness* (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007). We do, though, observe pronounced voraciousness (modalities of value 2) predominantly in the lower left quadrant of each graph of figure 1. As this quadrant is associated mostly with highbrow leisure activities (see below), this conforms with Coulangeon's (2013) finding for France that cultural engagement in combination with voraciousness is tied to the highbrow sphere. Moreover, there is no clear alignment of domestic and non-domestic activities with the first axis, except for the disengaged pole exhibiting, if any, domestic activities (esp. TV, DIY).

Focusing on the second axis it appears that on the one (lower) end there is both engagement in highbrow activities and disengagement in popular activities. On the opposite end there is engagement particularly in popular activities. Thus, dimension 2 is interpreted as a *highbrow-popular* distinction. Note, however, that this distinction is less pronounced in 1988, which is, as described above, due to composite questions used in this year's survey. It is also important to point to the fact that in all years we see moderate frequencies (value 1) of some highbrow activities on the popular side of the second dimension. The same is not true the other way around (except for "Cinema_2" in 1976). This indicates a more eclectic consumption pattern, crossing the boundaries between popular and highbrow.

In order to more precisely identify typical consumption patterns in the Swiss space of lifestyles we additionally calculated the number of both highbrow (NHLA) and popular (NPLA) leisure activities each respondent engages in and projected it into the graphs of figure 1 (connected by grey lines). Not surprisingly, both indices are aligned with dimension 1. Yet, they are also, in each year, oriented on dimension 2 in a way supporting the highbrow-lowbrow interpretation. NHLA starts in the disengaged-popular (upper right) quadrants and ends in the engaged-highbrow (lower left) quadrants, whereas NPLA starts in the disengaged-highbrow (lower right) quadrants and ends in the engaged-popular (upper left) quadrants. Combining this finding with the interpretation of axes described above leads to the identification of three distinct cultural consumption patterns in Switzerland: First, there is a pattern we label "Inactives", located on the right side of each graph of figure 1, showing disengagement in all popular and highbrow leisure activities except for watching TV. Second, there are "Intense highbrows", located in the lower left quadrants, exhibiting high frequencies of only highbrow activities. Third, we find a pattern of "Moderate eclectics" which is located in the upper left quadrants. This pattern is defined by a combination of popular leisure activities with moderate frequencies of highbrow activities. It is important to emphasise that such an eclectic pattern is already visible in 1976 which is five to ten years prior to Peterson's scheduling (Peterson and Kern, 1996). Additionally, it has to be noted that we do not detect a clear division of domestic and non-domestic activities; both can be found in every consumption pattern derived.

These consumption patterns are not only visually traceable in the MCA graphs, but also calculable by means of cluster-analytic methods (K-means), using the two MCA dimensions as clustering variables[6]. This strategy enables us to estimate the size of each consump-

[6] Variables were built by calculating for each respondent, separately for each year, the coordinate on dimension 1 and dimension 2, resulting in continuous variables.

Table 3: Profile of consumption patterns identified in the Swiss space of lifestyles.

		1976			1988			2013		
		IA	**IH**	**ME**	**IA**	**IH**	**ME**	**IA**	**IH**	**ME**
Share	(%)	57.6	13.5	29.0	44.1	23.8	32.1	35.4	29.1	35.5
NHLA	(mean)	0.9	3.3	2.9	1.5	4.3	2.5	2.3	4.9	4.1
FHLA	(mean)	0.2	0.9	0.6	0.3	1.1	0.5	0.6	1.2	0.9
NPLA	(mean)	1.8	1.9	3.6	3.2	3.9	4.8	3.0	3.3	4.7
FPLA	(mean)	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.2	0.8	0.8	1.1
N		1'056			24'004			5'531		

Consumption patterns (IA: Inactives; IH: Intense highbrows; ME: Moderate eclectics) calculated on the basis of K-means cluster analyses (3 clusters, Euclidean dist.) of each year's first two MCA dimensions.

NHLA: Number highbrow leisure activities. NPLA: Number popular leisure activities.
FHLA: Avg. frequency highbrow leisure activities. FPLA: Avg. frequency popular leisure activities.

tion pattern and its characteristics in terms of both the number and frequency of highbrow (NHLA, FHLA) and popular (NPLA, FPLA) leisure activities (see table 3). We find that, even though the overall structure of the Swiss space of lifestyles is highly stable over time, there seem to be shifts in the shares of consumption patterns. The inactive pattern decreases in size (35.4 vs. 57.6 per cent), whereas the other two – especially the intense highbrows – increase (29.1 vs. 13.5 and 35.5 vs. 29.0 percent). Hence, our analyses suggest that the Swiss population has become more culturally active during the past decades. Nevertheless, in each year, inactives score lowest in both number and frequency of highbrow and popular activities, while intense highbrows participate in most highbrow activities with high frequencies. Moderate eclectics, in turn, do predominantly participate in popular leisure activities but also in some highbrow activities, yet with lower frequencies than intense highbrows. However, the boundaries between intense highbrows and moderate eclectics seem to blur over time as the former are increasingly involved in popular leisure activities as well.

Referring to prediction 1 formulated earlier we find mixed evidence. The distinction between engagement and disengagement in various cultural forms is the main dimension of the Swiss space of lifestyles. Yet, it has been so already in the 1970s, which is not in line with Bourdieu's model. At the same time, we find a larger share of moderate eclectics in 2013 than in 1976, indicating – as predicted – increasing importance of broad cultural engagement. Yet, also the share of intense highbrows is rising over time, just as the percentage of explained inertia of the highbrow-popular dimension. Consequently, highbrow-popular distinctions are

still relevant in the Swiss lifestyle space. However, the main finding of our long-term analysis is that Swiss lifestyles in our period of observation were never dominated by a Bourdieusian highbrow-popular distinction, but by an axis of engagement vs. disengagement.

4.3. Lifestyles and the space of social positions from 1976 to 2013

The space of social positions is integrated into the analysis by projecting positional indicators (table A2) as supplementary variables into the lifestyle spaces. Since projecting all position indicators jointly would cause confusing graphs we concentrate on the most influential ones. Hence, figure 2 includes only age, education, income, and occupational status, thus apart from age mainly indicators of vertical social position. Gender, citizenship, region of residence, and denomination do not show strong correlations with lifestyles (see table 4), so they are left out of consideration here (for projections of these variables see figure OA1 in the online appendix). As it is out of the scope of this article to discuss all details of the relationship between the two spaces we will focus on the three consumption patterns derived above (table 3). Further, we will elaborate on the general development of the association between lifestyle dimensions and social structures in Switzerland.

Inactives

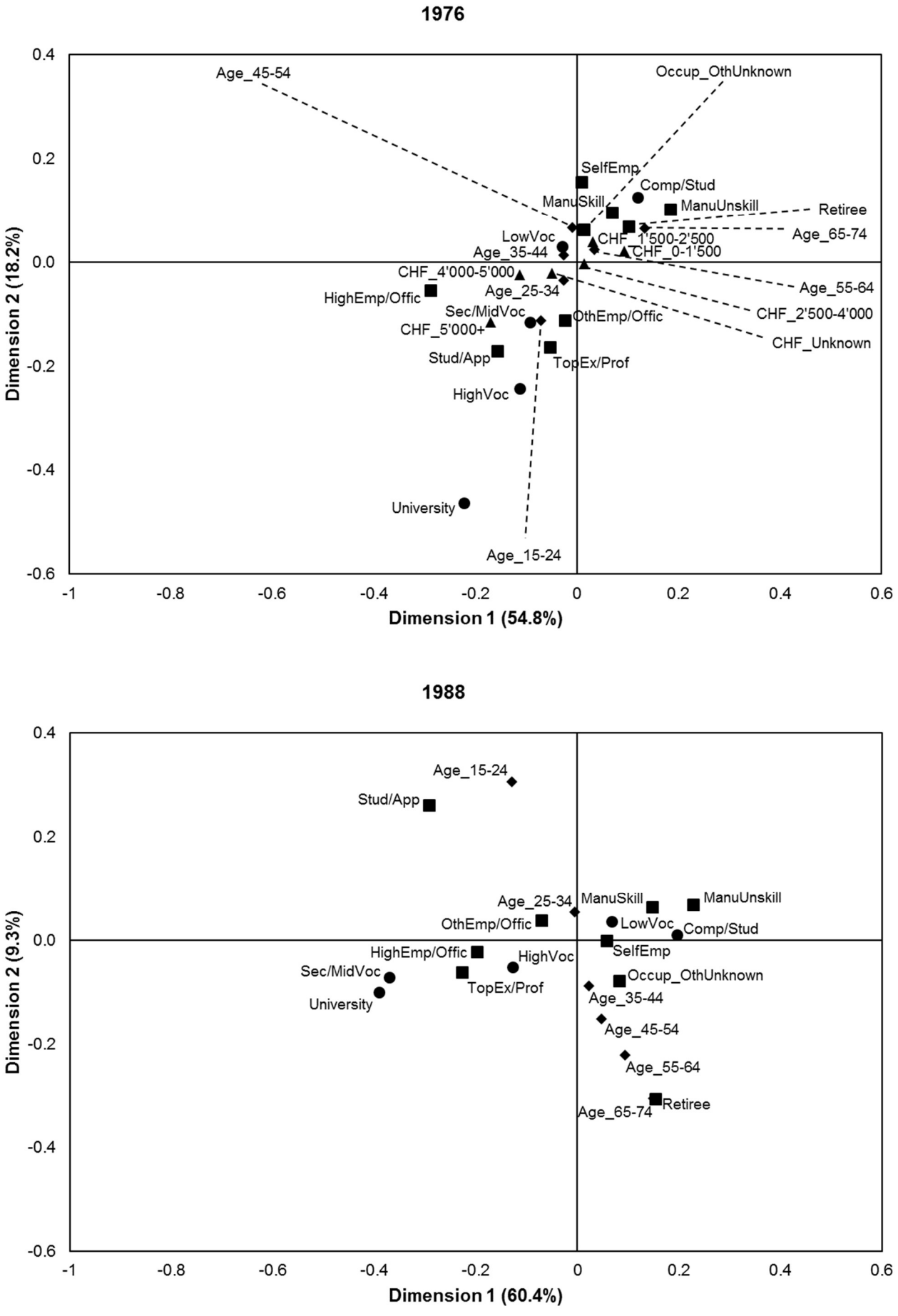
The social composition of inactive cultural consumers (right side of the space) is quite stable over time. They exhibit low levels of education, occupational status, and income, are of higher age than the other groups,[7] and mostly dwell in rural regions. However, taking a closer look at their educational attainment, we observe an interesting shift. While persons holding lower vocational degrees are predominantly found on the disengaged side of dimension 1 in 1988 and 2013, this is not the case in 1976. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that completing a vocational training – still the most common educational level in Switzerland (table A2) – is increasingly related with cultural disengagement.

Intense highbrows

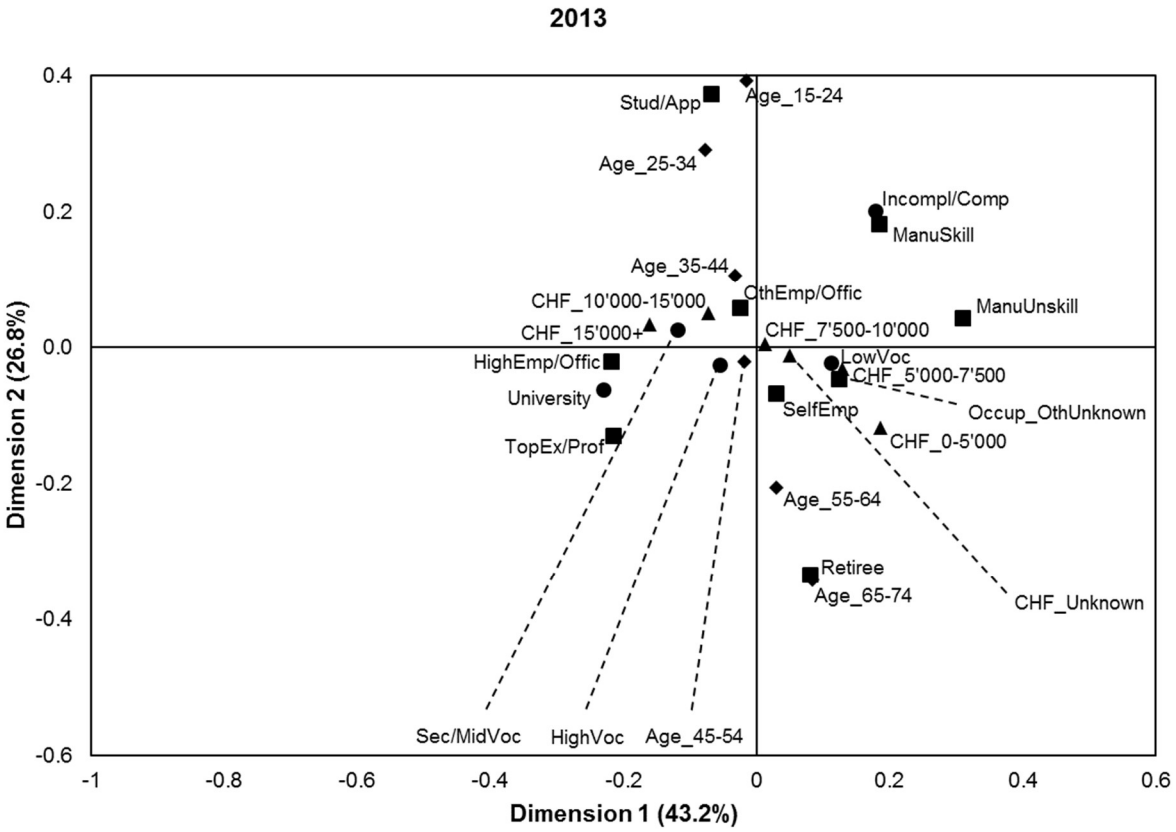
Intense highbrows (lower left quadrants) are the very reverse of the inactives. This is reflected in high levels of educational attainment and occupational status within this group.

[7] Since MCA is a strictly relational technique one should always emphasize that a certain group has a certain characteristic in relation to another group. Since this would make the text rather clumsy, we rely on absolute descriptions as shortcut here.

Figure 2: Age, income, education, and occupation as passive modalities in the space of lifestyles in Switzerland 1976, 1988, and 2013; using MCA.



(figure 2 continued)



Note: Principal normalization. Only passive modalities presented, active modalities are identical to figure 1. No information on income in 1988. Dotted lines do not have any substantial meaning but only connect markers and labels.

However, high levels of education are, over time, less exclusively tied to highbrow consumption. This can be inferred from the "university"-category moving upwards in the space, is reflected in an increasing involvement in popular activities among intense highbrows (table 3), and is in line with prediction 3 made above (also see table 4). The reason for this is probably not only the blurring of boundaries between high and popular culture, but also the – slowly proceeding, yet clearly detectable – spread of higher education in the broader population. Additionally, there is a dramatic change with respect to age. In 1976 intense highbrows are very young or even still students, whereas in 1988 and 2013 the youngest age groups are found on the popular end of dimension 2. Further, intense highbrows' social position did change with respect to income: highest incomes are found within this group in 1976, whereas they are found among moderate eclectics in 2013. Thus, apart from the impressive change in the age structure of intensive highbrows, we observe a certain downward shift in this group's vertical social position.

Moderate eclectics

The moderate eclectic pattern (upper left quadrants) underwent significant changes during our period of investigation. As stated before, the youngest age groups can be found within this segment of the space of lifestyles in 1988 and 2013, but not so in 1976. Also, highest incomes are found among moderate eclectics in 2013, but only medium-sized incomes in 1976. The educational level of the moderate eclectics has risen during the last forty years, as most prominently documented by the movement of lower vocational training to the disengaged side (see above). In contrast, the composition of this third pattern in terms of occupational status did not change substantively, with medium and high (not highest) status groups being most salient, at least in 1988 and 2013. All in all, moderate eclectics today are younger, richer, and better educated than in the 1970s, thus making this lifestyle typical for the aspiring upper middle class.

General development

We have seen that, even though the dimensional structure of the Swiss space of lifestyles is quite stable over time, its relation to space of social positions did change substantively. However, the MCA method applied so far is not very well suited to quantify the strength of the relationship between the two spaces. But this is essential in order to test the validity of the individualisation thesis brought forward by Beck and others, claiming waning correlations between the two spaces. Therefore, we resort to regression techniques in order to fill this gap.

We use the two dimensions of each year's MCA solution (as with the cluster analyses before) as dependent variables in an OLS setting. Using passive (social position) variables as independent factors allows us to determine their explanatory power with respect to each lifestyle dimension.

Since the estimated regression coefficients are not directly comparable we present partial R^2-values only (overall R^2 for the full model), that is the share of variance of each MCA dimension "explained" by each social position indicator, controlling for all other of these indicators. As can be seen from table 4, in 1976 only the two indicators of vertical social position, education and, to a lesser extent, occupational status exhibit considerable correlations with the space of lifestyles (for comparability reasons income was not included in that analysis). Besides, gender is slightly correlated with dimension 2 (D2; 0.031), with women being more likely to be found on the highbrow end of this dimension. Also education and occupa-

Table 4: OLS regressions of the first two MCA-axes on passive variables (income excluded); by year of investigation.

		1976	**1988**	**2013**
		Partial R^2	Partial R^2	Partial R^2
Age	D1	.005	.013	.001
	D2	.006	**.168**	**.144**
Gender	D1	.001	.001	.004
	D2	.031	.015	.019
Education	D1	.023	**.108**	**.064**
	D2	**.091**	.014	.007
Occup. status	D1	.016	.021	.016
	D2	.021	.005	.002
Citizenship	D1	.000	.001	.007
	D2	.000	.002	.000
Region	D1	.001	.008	.004
	D2	.010	.006	.001
Denomination	D1	.011	.002	.002
	D2	.005	.005	.001
Full model (overall R^2)	D1	**.090**	**.245**	**.158**
	D2	**.232**	**.307**	**.390**
N		1'056	24'004	5'531

Values > .050 highlighted.
For better comparability over time, "income" is not considered in any model.

tional status are mainly tied to dimension 2. Thus, the 1976 results concerning the relationship between the highbrow-popular dimension and vertical social position resemble, to a certain degree, Bourdieu's model.

In 1988, age comes additionally into play as important structuring factor, explaining 17 per cent of the variance of dimension 2. At the same time, education loses its relevance for dimension 2 but is now strongly tied to dimension 1 (D1; 0.108). The same is true for occupational status, but, again, to a lesser extent (0.021). Consequently, vertical social position is increasingly correlated with the engagement axis, whereas the highbrow axis is somewhat decoupled from vertical social position and closely linked to age.

This emerging pattern stabilizes in 2013. However, there is a certain decrease in the correlation between education and dimension 1 (0.064), possibly indicating a general decline of the importance of education for cultural consumption in Switzerland. Simultaneously, the distinction between highbrow and popular activities (dimension 2) is still largely determined by age (0.144).

Generally, it has to be stated that the strength of association between the space of lifestyles and the space of social positions did not decrease in the past four decades as the individualisation thesis would suggest. This becomes most apparent when considering the full models of table 4: the share of explained variance increased from nine to 16 per cent for dimension 1, and from 23 to 39 per cent for dimension 2. However, this is mostly due to the increasing effect of age on the highbrow dimension and the transition of the relationship of vertical position indicators from axis 2 to axis 1. With regard to our hypotheses concerning the relationship between vertical social position and lifestyle dimensions, we find quite positive evidence. As hypothesis 2 suggests, we find a rather weak correlation between the indicators of vertical social position and the engagement axis in 1976. However, in contrast to this hypothesis the relationship grows stronger over time and the engagement axis is now the most clearly visible lifestyle signal of vertical social position. In confirmation of hypothesis 3 we find a weakening link between highbrow cultural consumption and education, and also a decoupling from occupational status. Age, in contrast, seems to become the most influential structuring factor of the highbrow-popular lifestyle distinction.

5. Summary and Discussion

Summarizing the preceding analysis, we can state: the Swiss space of lifestyles is predominantly structured by a logic of engagement vs. disengagement, followed by a highbrow-popular distinction, with highbrow cultural consumption going along with high voraciousness. This general configuration is quite stable from the 1970s onward. Accordingly, we detect a moderate eclectic, an intense highbrow, and an inactive consumption pattern at all three points of observation. Moreover, the share of inactive cultural consumers is declining over time, whereas the percentage of intense highbrow and moderate eclectic consumers is rising. The majority of those being active, the moderate eclectics, combine both highbrow and popular leisure activities, but also intense highbrows are increasingly involved in popular leisure activities. Consequently, there is a visible shift towards cultural eclecticism in Switzerland. However, within our period of observation, the magnitude of this shift is limited because Swiss lifestyles have never been dominated by a Bourdieusian highbrow-popular dimension.

Beyond that, also our results regarding the homology between social position and lifestyles deviate from the stylized Bourdieusian model. Only in 1976 there are clear correlations between the (secondary!) highbrow dimension and indicators of vertical social position. In 1988 and 2013, these correlations are rather low. Instead, age emerged as most important factor differentiating between highbrow and popular lifestyles. Education and occupational status, on the other hand, now best predict the location on the engagement-disengagement axis, which has become the primary lifestyle expression of social status. Apart from this, associations between the space of lifestyles and the space of social positions are more complex than the Bourdieusian model predicts. Looking at the three consumption patterns identified, we find that moderate eclectic consumers are in the middle of the class and age structure in the seventies, however, they are getting younger, richer, and better educated in the course of time. In contrast, intense highbrows, being at the top of the class structure in the seventies, are not the only group exhibiting high social status in later periods and are, even more important, dramatically older today. The latter might point towards a cohort-specific pattern and thus a future extinction of highbrow snobbery in Switzerland. But this cannot be answered conclusively with the data at hand.

Generally, statistical relationships between most positional indicators and cultural participation do not lose in strength over time. Hence, the thesis of an individualisation of lifestyles cannot be supported. The most important exception from this general trend is the case of education. Even though it is still one of the most significant structuring factors of cultural consumption in 2013, its influence was even greater forty years ago. Particularly, high levels

of education are only weakly associated with exclusive highbrow consumption today. This is contrary to the fundamental role of cultural capital in the sphere of highbrow culture as emphasised by Bourdieu and reproduced in more current studies (DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004; van Eijck and Bargeman, 2004). Yet, it is in line with a process of educational expansion, taking place in western countries at varying rates since WWII, which tends to diminish the relationship between education and cultural consumption (Coulangeon, 2013; Gerhards et al., 2013). However, not only because of Switzerland's relatively limited educational expansion, further assessments of the relationship between indicators of vertical social position and highbrow cultural consumption require more detailed scrutinizing.

Nevertheless, our results allow for three main conclusions regarding the wider field of cultural consumption research. First, as the engagement dimension was the main dimension of the Swiss space of lifestyles very early on, some societies might have deviated from the stylized Bourdieusian picture already when *Distinction* was published. The reason why Switzerland developed an engagement-disengagement dimension so early – as well as a moderate eclectic consumption pattern – is presumably not because of a historically early advent of postmodern values. As mentioned, cultural discourses are still dominated by traditional highbrow-lowbrow categorisations and progressive youth culture was not able to expand before the 1980s. Instead, it is more plausible to trace Switzerland's early cultural eclecticism back to its very high wealth levels and its highly advanced socioeconomic development, making diverse cultural consumption accessible for a majority of the population (cf. Gerhards et al. 2013). Also population heterogeneity, another important factor furthering cultural eclecticism, was prevalent already in the 1970s, due to Switzerland's multilingualism and extensive international immigration.

Second, broad cultural engagement has become the major lifestyle expression of vertical social status, whereas in the seventies the secondary highbrow-popular dimension was most strongly linked to indicators of vertical social position. Hence, our results clearly underscore the idea that the cultural mode of social distinction has changed, with omnivorous/eclectic lifestyles being more socially rewarding today.

Third, as also found in other comparative studies (Gerhards et al., 2013), highbrow culture does not exclusively demarcate high social status. Instead it has become a marker of (older) age, which has been observed in other societies, too (DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004; Reuband, 2005; van Eijck and Knulst, 2005). Studies by van Eijck/Knulst (2005) and Reuband (2005) show that this is not a matter of lifecycle, but of cohort replacement. Further research needs to explore which mechanism is responsible for this cohort effect: cultural social-

ization, the meltdown of highbrow culture's legitimacy, or the dramatic increase of popular cultural opportunities?

Finally, our results need to be qualified in two respects. First, it is important to note that the results of multiple correspondence analyses do heavily depend on kind and quality of the data included, which is especially relevant in comparative settings. Therefore, in order to check for the robustness of the trends derived from the above analyses, we re-calculated them with two additional datasets (results available upon request): first, with data from a survey conducted by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office on cultural participation in Switzerland in 2008; second, with data from an online survey on lifestyles in German-speaking Switzerland in 2013. The structure of the space of lifestyles (engagement-disengagement as first, highbrow-popular as second dimension) is almost identical, irrespective of which dataset is used. Additionally, most other results can be reproduced with the 2008 dataset. However, results of the supplementary 2013 analysis deviate from those presented above in a decisive way. With these data we find almost no statistical relationships between the space of lifestyles and the space of social positions, and thus high levels of individualisation.[8] This finding points to the vulnerability of trend analyses due to variability in data quality. Thus, even though we interpret our above findings as evidence against the individualisation thesis, we hesitate to make up a clear-cut trend of decreasing individualisation.

Second, it needs to be emphasised that the present empirical investigation is solely based on cultural participation. Since actual lifestyles are not necessarily in accordance with individuals' cultural tastes and attitudes it is not implausible to assume that a focus on tastes would have come to different results (Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). Maybe the "space of cultural tastes" is differently structured than the "space of cultural activities"? Maybe there is individualisation with respect to cultural tastes? A similar question applies to consumption activities which necessitate higher levels of economic capital. They could be even more strongly related to class position and economic resources than cultural participation. Deciding on these questions, however, demands different empirical information.

[8] This may be due to the fact that this survey is based on a highly selective sample. First, it was conducted online, second, among persons that self-selected into a huge online-panel of a market research company and, third, in German-speaking Switzerland only. It should be a topic of future research in survey methodology whether such online-panels particularly contain persons with high levels of individualization.

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Appendix

Table A1: Descriptive statistics of active variables/modalities: space of lifestyles (leisure time activities: 0 = never, 1 = sometimes, 2 = often).

			1976				1988				2013			
			Freq. (%)[1]	Contr. D1 (%)[2]	Contr. D2 (%)[2]		Freq. (%)[1]	Contr. D1 (%)[2]	Contr. D2 (%)[2]		Freq. (%)[1]	Contr. D1 (%)[2]	Contr. D2 (%)[2]
Highbrow Non-domestic	Concert	0	80.5	1.92	2.35	Highbrow cult. event[3]	63.6	**6.59**	0.18	Opera/ Class. concert	61.1	**5.53**	2.61
		1	12.0	**8.00**	0.03		26.5	**4.38**	0.04		34.5	**6.96**	1.23
		2	7.5	0.91	**23.22**		9.9	**9.52**	1.93		4.4	1.89	**8.46**
	Theatre	0	78.4	2.14	2.34	Further education[4]	40.2	**6.99**	0.67	Theatre	42.6	**11.24**	0.68
		1	13.3	**10.48**	0.06		37.1	0.95	0.19		49.0	**5.56**	0.22
		2	8.3	0.17	**19.17**		22.7	**5.18**	0.29		8.4	**3.43**	**9.00**
	Museum	0	78.0	2.44	0.59	Cultural activities[5]	85.2	0.76	0.36	Museum	28.3	**11.99**	0.40
		1	17.7	**8.14**	0.07		4.3	1.45	0.00		58.5	2.71	0.63
		2	4.3	0.76	**7.47**		10.5	**2.95**	**2.81**		13.2	2.56	**6.74**
Popular Non-domestic	Cinema	0	70.6	1.67	0.87	Popular cult. event[6]	68.8	**4.82**	1.65	Cinema	20.2	**9.00**	2.29
		1	17.9	**5.81**	0.30		24.8	**5.39**	**4.46**		51.1	0.65	2.07
		2	11.5	0.04	2.67		6.4	**6.94**	0.00		28.8	2.06	0.42
	Sport event	0	77.8	0.65	0.13	Sport event	58.2	0.15	**10.23**	Sport event	44.4	1.63	**4.95**
		1	11.8	**3.48**	0.00		25.0	0.06	**4.33**		29.7	1.77	2.21
		2	10.4	0.05	0.93		16.8	0.18	**11.65**		25.9	0.06	1.74
	Bar/Club	0	63.4	2.42	0.65	Club/cinema/ entertainm.	55.8	1.63	**11.27**	Disco/Club	68.7	0.72	**4.74**
		1	22.4	**4.06**	**3.70**		21.3	0.22	1.90		16.2	2.64	**3.84**
		2	14.2	0.57	0.51		22.9	2.36	**15.27**		15.1	0.01	**6.83**
Highbrow Domestic	Read books	0	47.8	**6.19**	0.78	Read books: highbrow[7]	51.9	**6.65**	0.88	Read books	11.8	**6.62**	0.23
		1	32.0	**4.74**	0.41		20.2	0.62	0.14		54.4	0.32	**3.16**
		2	20.2	1.19	**4.68**		27.9	**8.10**	2.65		33.9	0.64	**6.42**
	Read paper	0	51.7	**5.25**	1.19	Read paper: highbrow[8]	29.9	**7.21**	0.54	Read paper	16.5	2.34	1.08
		1	27.4	**5.82**	1.19		51.8	0.64	0.30		24.0	1.07	**4.66**
		2	20.9	0.71	0.22		18.3	**4.36**	**3.48**		59.6	0.02	**3.67**
	Make music	0	84.1	0.63	0.13	Play instrument	80.9	1.40	0.35	Make music	66.2	1.90	0.12
		1	6.8	1.39	0.36		12.0	2.19	0.32		9.3	2.45	1.74
		2	9.1	1.93	2.64		7.1	**4.32**	1.59		24.5	1.70	0.06

(Table A1 continued)

Popular Domestic	Watch TV	0	36.6	2.55	**8.16**	Watch TV	0	5.1	1.06	**5.24**	Watch TV	0	15.1	1.10	0.13
		1	24.2	**4.44**	0.24		1	24.7	1.01	1.04		1	48.0	0.87	0.73
		2	39.2	0.01	**5.64**		2	70.2	0.77	0.00		2	36.9	**3.02**	0.55
	Listen radio	0	44.2	**4.79**	**3.68**	Listen radio	0	1.9	0.21	1.49	Play	0	62.2	0.06	**3.74**
		1	8.5	1.68	0.25		1	17.1	0.08	0.55	PC games	1	17.0	1.50	**6.71**
		2	47.3	2.46	**4.28**		2	81.0	0.04	0.02		2	20.9	0.45	1.00
	DIY[9]	0	70.9	0.62	0.31	DIY[9]	0	22.6	0.27	**4.23**	DIY[9]	0	20.1	**3.60**	0.00
		1	12.6	1.60	0.27		1	47.7	0.40	0.90		1	30.0	1.88	**4.37**
		2	16.5	0.28	0.49		2	29.7	0.12	**9.00**		2	49.9	0.02	2.55

[1] Relative frequencies with respect to the MCA sample.
[2] Contributions above average contribution (2.78%) highlighted.
[3] Opera, theatre, classical concerts, art exhibitions.
[4] E.g. evening classes, not at home.
[5] Choir, orchestra, theatre (active participation).
[6] Rock concerts, jazz concerts, theatre festival, cabaret
[7] Serious, science, or arts literature.
[8] Feature pages, cultural affairs.
[9] Do It Yourself.

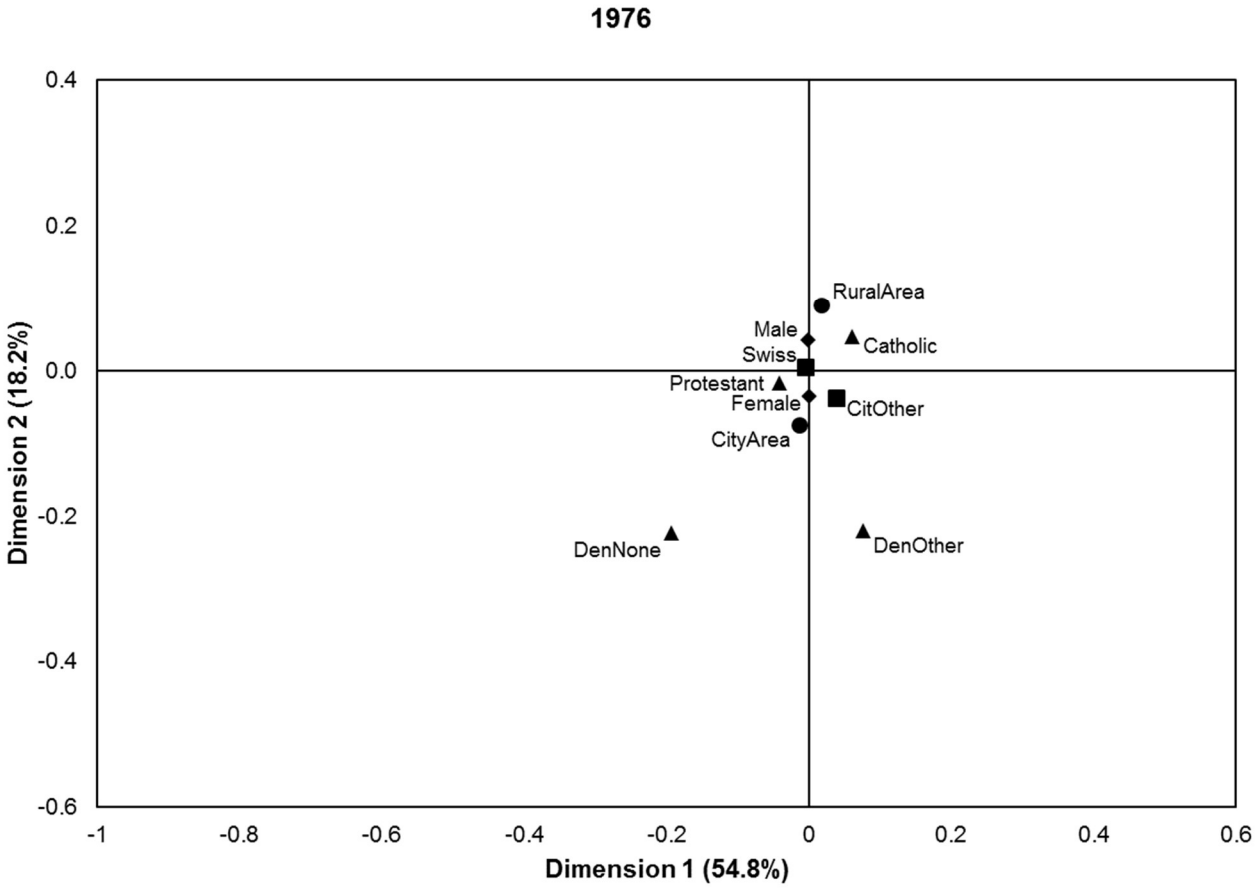
Table A2: Descriptive statistics of passive variables/modalities: space of social positions.

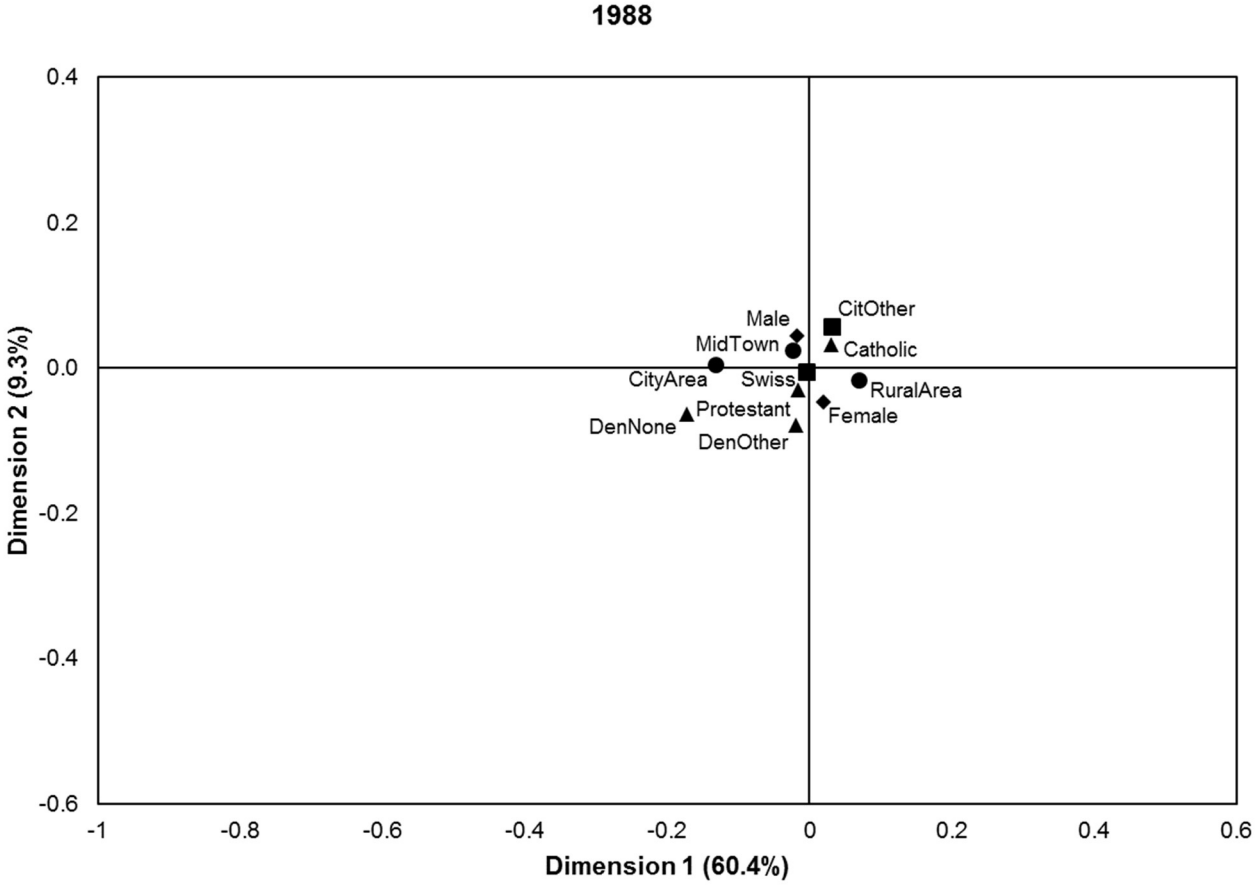
1976		1988		2013	
Age					
15-24	15.3	15-24	21.1	15-24	14.1
25-34	23.0	25-34	26.4	25-34	10.8
35-44	19.5	35-44	22.5	35-44	14.4
45-54	14.7	45-54	16.1	45-54	24.2
55-64	13.8	55-64	9.4	55-64	20.4
65-74	13.7	65-74	4.6	65-74	16.1
Gender					
Male	44.2	Male	51.5	Male	43.9
Female	55.8	Female	48.6	Female	56.1
Education					
Compulsory/Student	36.7	Compulsory/Student	22.9	Compulsory/Incompl.	11.4
Lower vocational	37.4	Lower vocational	48.6	Lower vocational	41.5
Secondary/Mid. voc.	13.3	Secondary/Mid. voc.	8.1	Secondary/Mid. voc.	10.4
Higher vocational	7.3	Higher vocational	12.0	Higher vocational	17.0
University	5.4	University	8.3	University	19.7
Occupational status					
Top execut./Profess.	3.4	Top execut./Profess.	2.9	Top execut./Profess.	2.3
Other self-employed	4.7	Other self-employed	9.4	Other self-employed	7.3
Higher employ./offic.	4.6	Higher employ./offic.	10.9	Higher employ./offic.	12.2
Other employ./offic.	23.9	Other employ./offic.	18.7	Other employ./offic.	30.7
Manual skilled	10.2	Manual skilled	11.4	Manual skilled	3.7
Manual unskilled	5.6	Manual unskilled	5.7	Manual unskilled	2.6
Students/Apprentices	8.0	Students/Apprentices	8.5	Students/Apprentices	11.8
Retirees	10.1	Retirees	4.5	Retirees	15.9
Other/Unknown	29.6	Other/Unknown	28.2	Other/Unknown	13.5
Income[(1)]					
CHF 0-1'500	17.9	*(no measure)*		CHF 0-5'000	12.2
CHF 1'501-2'500	23.9			CHF 5'001-7'500	16.9
CHF 2'501-4'000	25.6			CHF 7'501-10'000	18.7
CHF 4'001-5'000	7.1			CHF 10'001-15'000	27.3
CHF 5'000+	6.1			CHF 15'000+	18.7
CHF Unknown	19.5			CHF Unknown	6.2
Citizenship					
Other	10.4	Other	9.4	Other	8.4
Swiss	89.6	Swiss	90.6	Swiss	91.6
Denomination					
Protestant	49.0	Protestant	37.9	Protestant	37.3
Catholic	45.0	Catholic	53.5	Catholic	40.5
Other	1.7	Other	3.2	Other	7.3
None	4.4	None	5.4	None	14.9
Region					
City + agglo. area	55.2	City area	20.5	City area	19.5
Rural area	44.8	Middle sized town	29.9	Middle sized town	71.8
		Rural area	49.6	Rural area	8.7

Relative frequencies with respect to the MCA samples, in %. [(1)] Gross monthly household income.

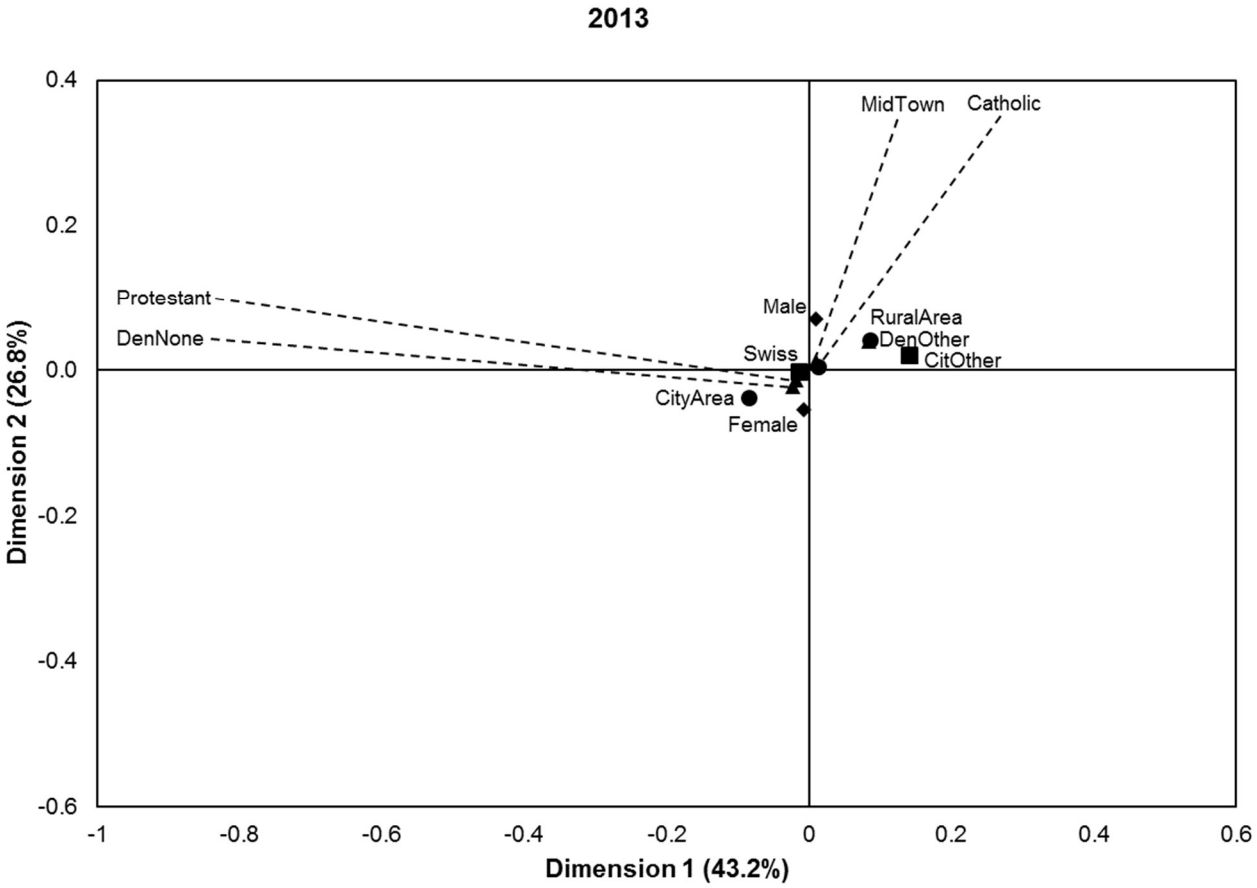
Online appendix

Figure OA1: Gender, citizenship, region, and denomination as passive modalities in the space of lifestyles in Switzerland 1976, 1988, and 2013; using MCA.





(figure OA1 continued)



Note: Principal normalization. Only passive modalities presented, active modalities are identical to figure 1. Dotted lines do not have any substantial meaning but only connect markers and labels.

Table OA1: Additional information on datasets used.

	1976	1988	2013
Study name	«Les comportements et la mobilité en matière de loisirs et de vacances en Suisse»	«Mikrozensus 1988: Freizeit und Kultur» (Swiss sample census 1988)	«Swiss Household Panel (SHP)» (Wave 15)
Population	Resident population in private households in Switzerland, aged 15-74.	Resident population in private households in Switzerland, aged 15+ (post hoc restriction to 15-74).	Resident population in private households in Switzerland, aged 14+ (post hoc restriction to 15-74).
Sampling procedure	Stratified random sample of individuals in households: 1. Selection of communities out of all Swiss communities by quota, accounting for community size, region[1], and community type[2]. 2. Random selection of households within selected communities. 3. Selection of one individual per household by date of birth.	Stratified random sample of individuals in households (based on the Swiss telephone directory): 1. Random selection of communities out of all Swiss communities, weighted by canton, district, and community size. 2. Random selection of households within selected communities. 3. All individuals aged 15 or more in each household are eligible.	SHP_I/SHP_II[3]: Stratified random sample of individuals in households (based on the Swiss telephone directory): 1. Random selection of households in each of the 7 Swiss statistical regions[4], proportional to region size. 2. All individuals aged 14 or more in each household are eligible. SHP_III[3]: Stratified random sample of individuals (based on cantonal and communal register of residents): 1. Random selection of individuals in each of the 7 Swiss statistical regions[4], proportional to region size.
Survey method	Standardised questionnaire, oral face-to-face interview.	Standardised questionnaire, paper-pencil, sent by mail.	Standardized questionnaire[5], oral telephone interview (CATI).
Response rate	- *no information* -	66 %	82 %[6]
Sample size (full / MCA)	1’066 / 1’056	45’386 / 24’004	6’472 / 5’531

[1] Suisse romande, Alps/foothills of the Alps, West-Mittelland, Ost-Mittelland, Ticino.
[2] Agglomeration, rural area.
[3] In 2013 the SHP consists of three samples: the original sample of 1999 (SHP_I), the first refreshment of 2004 (SHP_II), and the second refreshment of 2013 (SHP_III).
[4] Lake Geneva region, Mittelland, North-west Switzerland, Zurich, Eastern Switzerland, Central Switzerland, Ticino.
[5] We use the individual questionnaire only. Besides, SHP offers a household questionnaire, a household grid questionnaire, and a proxy questionnaire for absent household members or household members aged 13 or younger.
[6] Mean individual response rate of all three samples in the year 2013. Not accounting for panel attrition.

Table OA2: Original question wording and recoding procedure of active variables/modalities (English translation): 1976.

MCA variable		Original question wording[1]	Original coding	Recoding[2]
				0 = never 1 = sometimes 2 = often
		Frequency of leisure time activities:…		
Highbrow Non-domestic	Concert	*…concert*	0 = never 1 = every day 2 = several times per week 3 = one time per week 4 = 2 to 3 times per month 5 = one time per month 6 = some times per year	0 = 0 | 6 = 1 | 1-5 = 2
	Theatre	*…theatre*		0 = 0 | 6 = 1 | 1-5 = 2
	Museum	*…visits to museums*		0 = 0 | 6 = 1 | 1-5 = 2
Popular Non-domestic	Cinema	*…cinema*		0 = 0 | 5-6 = 1 | 1-4 = 2
	Sport event	*…sport event*		0 = 0 | 5-6 = 1 | 1-4 = 2
	Bar/Club[3]	*…café, bar / night club*		0 = 0 | 3-6 = 1 | 1-2 = 2
Highbrow Domestic	Read books	*…read books*		0 = 0 | 2-6 = 1 | 1 = 2
	Read paper	*…read weekly paper / magazines*		0 = 0 | 2-6 = 1 | 1 = 2
	Make music	*…make music*		0 = 0 | 3-6 = 1 | 1-2 = 2
Popular Domestic	Watch TV	*…watch TV*		0 = 0 | 2-6 = 1 | 1 = 2
	Listen radio	*…listen to the radio*		0 = 0 | 2-6 = 1 | 1 = 2
	DIY	*…handicrafts / do it yourself*		0 = 0 | 4-6 = 1 | 1-3 = 2

[1] Unfortunately, the original questionnaire is not available in this year; the question wording is thus based on what is stated in the data documentation.
[2] The different recoding procedures follow a single standardized recoding rule: the "never" category is always and only 0; for the remaining categories two quantiles are built and allocated to 1 and 2 accordingly, so that 1 and 2 are as similar in relative frequency as possible.
[3] Combination of two questions; the highest of the two frequencies was chosen for the MCA variable.

Table OA3: Original question wording and recoding procedure of active variables/modalities (English translation): 1988.

MCA variable		Original question wording	Original coding	Recoding[1]
				0 = never 1 = sometimes 2 = often
		During the free time I spend out of the house…		
Highbrow Non-domestic	High. cult. event	*…I visit classical cultural events, e.g. opera, theatre, concerts, or art exhibitions.*	1 = almost every day 2 = at least one time per week 3 = at least one time per month 4 = several times per year 5 = almost never	5 = 0 | 4 = 1 | 1-3 = 2
	Furth. education	*…I further educate myself.*		5 = 0 | 3-4 = 1 | 1-2 = 2
	Cultural activity	*…I engage in cultural activities, e.g. in a choir, in a musical group, in an orchestra, in a theatre.*		5 = 0 | 3-4 = 1 | 1-2 = 2
Popular Non-domestic	Popular cult. event	*…I visit cultural events, e.g. jazz concerts, rock concerts, theatre festivals, cabaret, vernissages.*		5 = 0 | 4 = 1 | 1-3 = 2
	Sport event	*…I visit big events, e.g. sport events, soccer matches, big festivals.*		5 = 0 | 4 = 1 | 1-3 = 2
	Club/cinema/entert.	*…I entertain myself, e.g. in a disco, in the cinema, with dancing, in an entertainment bar.*		5 = 0 | 4 = 1 | 1-3 = 2
Highbrow Domestic	Books: highbrow	*I read books that deal with serious literature, science, art, or politics.*	1 = almost every day 2 = at least one time per week 3 = at least one time per month 4 = less often or never (Play instrument: 5 = I don't have one)	4 = 0 | 3 = 1 | 1-2 = 2
	Paper: highbrow	*In papers and magazines I read the cultural affairs and feature pages.*		4 = 0 | 2-3 = 1 | 1 = 2
	Play instrument	*How often do you use the following devices: musical instrument.*		4-5 = 0 | 2-3 = 1 | 1 = 2
Popular Domestic	Watch TV[2]	*On TV I watch information programmes / sport programmes / entertainment programmes / feature films.*		4 = 0 | 2-3 = 1 | 1 = 2
	Listen radio[2]	*On the radio I listen to information programmes / music programmes / background music.*		4 = 0 | 2-3 = 1 | 1 = 2
	DIY	*During the free time I spend at home I am active, do things myself, do handicrafts, collect things, or tinker.*		4 = 0 | 2-3 = 1 | 1 = 2

[1] The different recoding procedures follow a single standardized recoding rule: the category indicating the lowest frequency is always and only 0; for the remaining categories two quantiles are built and allocated to 1 and 2 accordingly, so that 1 and 2 are as similar in relative frequency as possible.

[2] Combination of four/three questions; the highest of the four/three frequencies was chosen for the MCA variable.

Table OA4: Original question wording and recoding procedure of active variables/modalities (English translation): 2013.

MCA variable		Original question wording	Original coding	Recoding[(1)]
				0 = never 1 = sometimes 2 = often
		I am now going to list a number of leisure activities. How frequently do you practise them?...		
Highbrow Non-domestic	Opera/Class. Con.	*...Going to an opera or a classical concert.*	1 = every day 2 = at least once a week 3 = at least once a month 4 = less than once a month 5 = never	5 = 0 | 4 = 1 | 1-3 = 2
	Theatre	*...Going to a theatre.*		5 = 0 | 4 = 1 | 1-3 = 2
	Museum	*...Visiting a museum or a gallery.*		5 = 0 | 4 = 1 | 1-3 = 2
Popular Non-domestic	Cinema	*...Going to the cinema.*		5 = 0 | 4 = 1 | 1-3 = 2
	Sport event	*...Attending sports events.*		5 = 0 | 4 = 1 | 1-3 = 2
	Disco/Club	*...Going to a disco, a dance hall, or a techno party.*		5 = 0 | 4 = 1 | 1-3 = 2
Highbrow Domestic	Read books	*...Read books during your free time.*		5 = 0 | 2-4 = 1 | 1 = 2
	Read paper	*...Read daily newspapers (except free newspapers).*		5 = 0 | 2-4 = 1 | 1 = 2
	Make music	*...Playing an instrument or singing.*		5 = 0 | 3-4 = 1 | 1-2 = 2
Popular Domestic	PC games	*...Playing video games (on computer, PlayStation, etc.).*		5 = 0 | 3-4 = 1 | 1-2 = 2
	DIY	*...DIY (Do it yourself), gardening.*		5 = 0 | 3-4 = 1 | 1-2 = 2
	Watch TV[(2)]	*How many minutes daily do you usually spend during weekdays / week-ends watching TV?*		0-25 = 0 | 26-110 = 1 | 111-960 = 2

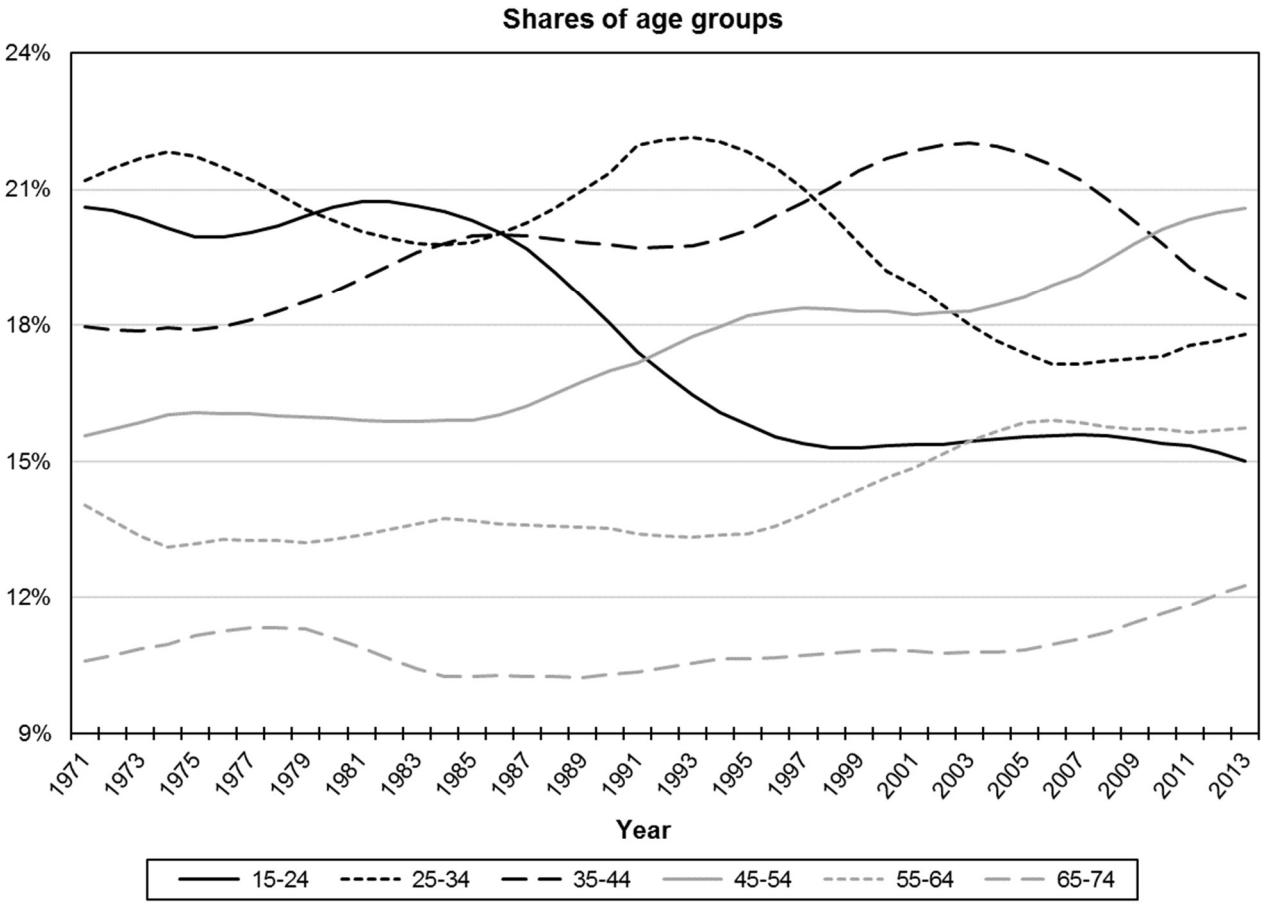
[(1)] The different recoding procedures follow a single standardized recoding rule (except for watching TV): the "never" category is always and only 0; for the remaining categories two quantiles are built and allocated to 1 and 2 accordingly, so that 1 and 2 are as similar in relative frequency as possible.
[(2)] Combination of two questions; the overall weekly time (in minutes) spent watching TV is calculated.

Table OA5: Official statistics of the age structure in Switzerland, of those aged 15-74 (in %).

	1976	1988	2013
Age			
15-24	20.0	19.2	15.0
25-34	21.5	20.6	17.8
35-44	18.0	19.9	18.6
45-54	16.1	16.5	20.6
55-64	13.3	13.6	15.7
65-74	11.2	10.2	12.3

Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office; own analysis.

Figure OA2: Age structure of those aged 15-74 in Switzerland, 1971-2013.



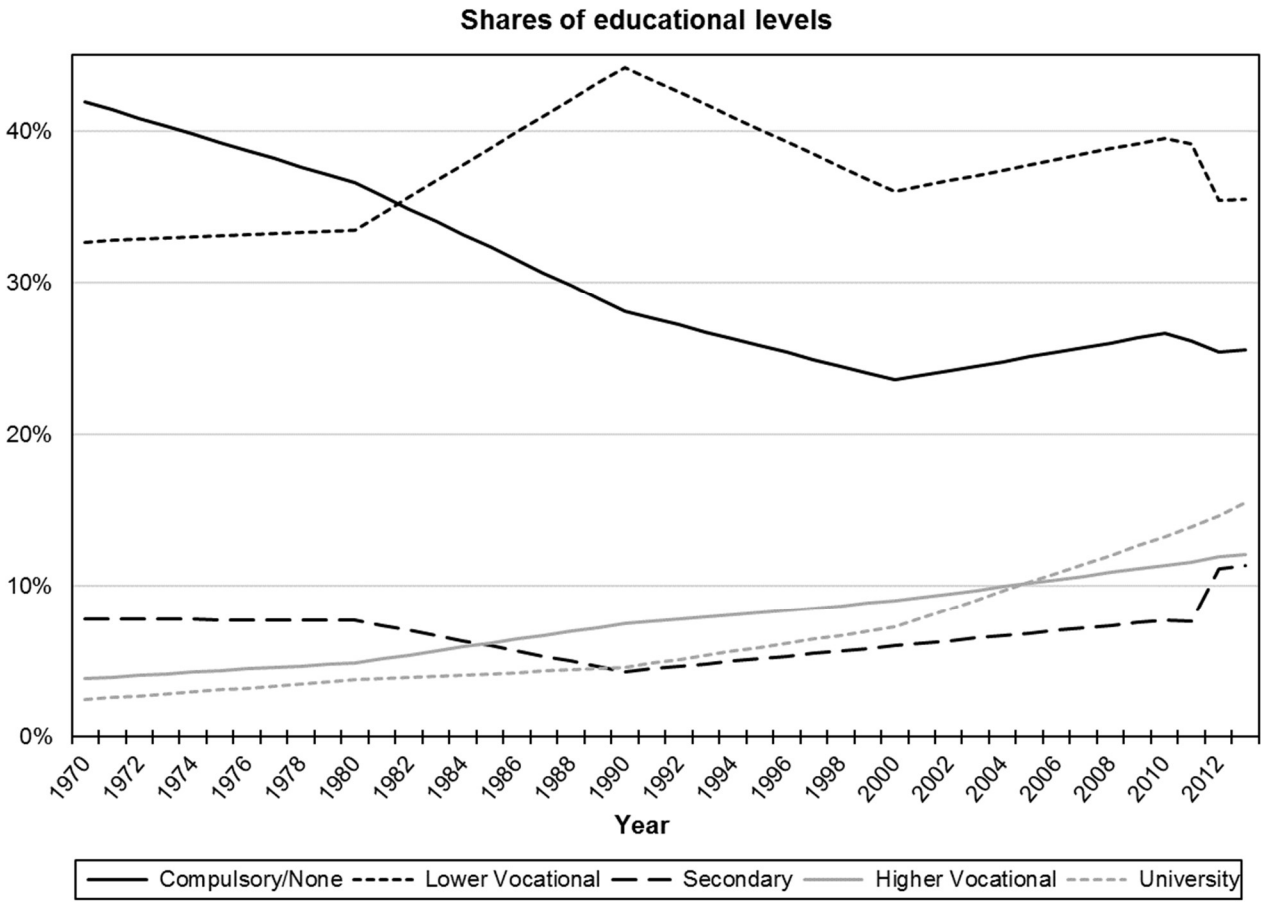
Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office; own analysis.

Table OA6: Official statistics of the educational structure in Switzerland, of those aged 15 and older (in %).

	1970	1980	1990	2013
Education				
Compul./None	41.9	36.6	28.1	25.6
Lower Vocat.	32.7	33.5	44.2	35.5
Secondary	7.8	7.7	4.3	11.3
Higher Vocat.	3.8	4.9	7.5	12.1
University	2.4	3.7	4.6	15.5

Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office; own analysis.
Note: Between 1970 and 2010 information every 10 years only.

Figure OA3: Educational structure of those aged 15 and older in Switzerland, 1970-2013.



Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office; own analysis.
Note: Between 1970 and 2010 information every 10 years only.

Table OA7: OLS regressions of the first two MCA-axes on passive variables (income excluded); by year of investigation; age group 15-54 only.

		1976	1988	2013
		Partial R^2	Partial R^2	Partial R^2
Age	D1	.001	.010	.001
	D2	.005	**.121**	**.113**
Gender	D1	.001	.000	.008
	D2	.042	.012	.033
Education	D1	.008	**.104**	.045
	D2	**.122**	.011	.005
Occup. status	D1	.021	.022	.013
	D2	.019	.005	.005
Citizenship	D1	.000	.001	.010
	D2	.000	.002	.000
Region	D1	.002	.009	.006
	D2	.007	.009	.001
Denomination	D1	.020	.002	.004
	D2	.005	.006	.002
Full model (overall R^2)	D1	**.065**	**.227**	**.146**
	D2	**.267**	**.210**	**.274**
N		765	20’657	3’513

Values > .050 highlighted.
For better comparability over time, “income” is not considered in any model.

Not surprisingly, compared to the full MCA samples, the explained variance of D2 is considerably lower in 1988 and 2013, because this dimension is closely tied to age in these years.

Table OA8: OLS regressions of the first two MCA-axes on passive variables (income excluded); by year of investigation; only one random person per household in years 1988 and 2013[(1)].

		1976	1988	2013
		Partial R^2	Partial R^2	Partial R^2
Age	D1	.005	.009	.004
	D2	.006	**.100**	**.136**
Gender	D1	.001	.000	.002
	D2	.031	.010	.019
Education	D1	.023	**.113**	**.067**
	D2	**.091**	.010	.009
Occup. status	D1	.016	.017	.018
	D2	.021	.007	.003
Citizenship	D1	.000	.001	.006
	D2	.000	.003	.000
Region	D1	.001	.011	.004
	D2	.010	.007	.002
Denomination	D1	.011	.003	.002
	D2	.005	.004	.003
Full model (overall R^2)	D1	**.090**	**.245**	**.183**
	D2	**.232**	**.200**	**.336**
N		1'056	11'958	3'275

Values > .050 highlighted.
For better comparability over time, "income" is not considered in any model.
(1) All values for years 1988 and 2013 are mean values of 500 random selections.

Table OA9: Social position profile of consumption patterns identified in the Swiss space of lifestyles.

	1976				1988				2013		
	IA	**IH**	**ME**		**IA**	**IH**	**ME**		**IA**	**IH**	**ME**
Age											
15-24	14.0	19.7	15.7	15-24	7.8	14.6	44.1	15-24	11.7	3.5	25.2
25-34	21.4	26.8	24.5	25-34	25.0	22.6	31.0	25-34	8.2	4.5	18.6
35-44	18.6	18.3	21.9	35-44	26.4	26.2	14.6	35-44	14.2	9.8	18.4
45-54	14.8	12.0	15.7	45-54	20.5	19.4	7.6	45-54	24.4	24.1	24.1
55-64	14.1	15.5	12.4	55-64	13.3	11.6	2.2	55-64	23.0	30.0	10.1
65-74	17.1	7.8	9.8	65-74	7.0	5.6	0.5	65-74	18.6	28.1	3.6
Gender											
Male	45.7	38.0	44.1	Male	47.5	49.4	58.4	Male	44.1	36.3	49.8
Female	54.3	62.0	55.9	Female	52.5	50.6	41.6	Female	55.9	63.7	50.2
Education											
Compulsory/Student	44.4	11.3	33.0	Compulsory/Student	31.0	10.5	21.1	Compulsory/Incompl.	16.1	3.8	13.0
Lower vocational	36.2	33.8	41.5	Lower vocational	51.7	36.1	53.7	Lower vocational	53.1	36.3	34.1
Secondary/Mid. voc.	10.5	20.4	15.4	Secondary/Mid. voc.	3.9	16.9	7.4	Secondary/Mid. voc.	6.9	12.0	12.5
Higher vocational	6.3	15.5	5.6	Higher vocational	10.1	16.8	11.0	Higher vocational	14.6	18.9	17.8
University	2.6	19.0	4.6	University	3.4	19.6	6.8	University	9.2	28.9	22.6
Occupational status											
Top execut./Profess.	2.8	7.0	2.9	Top execut./Profess.	2.0	5.2	2.4	Top execut./Profess.	1.0	3.7	2.4
Other self-employed	5.1	3.5	4.6	Other self-employed	10.4	8.1	9.0	Other self-employed	7.8	7.6	6.5
Higher employ./offic.	3.0	7.0	6.5	Higher employ./offic.	7.4	17.3	10.9	Higher employ./offic.	6.2	16.3	14.9
Other employ./offic.	21.7	35.2	22.9	Other employ./offic.	15.3	20.8	21.7	Other employ./offic.	28.9	27.5	35.1
Manual skilled	11.5	7.0	9.2	Manual skilled	13.8	5.3	12.6	Manual skilled	5.2	1.2	4.2
Manual unskilled	7.6	1.4	3.6	Manual unskilled	7.4	1.9	6.2	Manual unskilled	5.2	1.1	1.4
Students/Apprentices	6.3	14.1	8.5	Students/Apprentices	2.2	9.1	16.6	Students/Apprentices	9.0	3.9	21.3
Retirees	11.8	7.0	8.2	Retirees	6.8	5.4	0.5	Retirees	18.4	27.5	3.8
Other/Unknown	30.3	17.6	33.7	Other/Unknown	34.7	27.1	20.1	Other/Unknown	18.4	11.4	10.4

(Table OA9 continued)

Income[(1)]											
CHF 0-1'500	21.1	14.1	13.4					CHF 0-5'000	18.4	11.6	6.7
CHF 1'501-2'500	24.8	20.4	23.5					CHF 5'001-7'500	22.2	16.1	12.3
CHF 2'501-4'000	26.5	27.5	22.9	*(no measure)*				CHF 7'501-10'000	20.0	17.8	18.1
CHF 4'001-5'000	6.3	7.8	8.5					CHF 10'001-15'000	21.6	26.0	33.9
CHF 5'000+	4.0	9.9	8.5					CHF 15'000+	10.8	22.4	23.5
CHF Unknown	17.4	20.4	23.2					CHF Unknown	7.0	6.1	5.5
Citizenship											
Other	11.2	11.3	8.5	Other	9.6	7.9	10.2	Other	11.9	5.7	7.0
Swiss	88.8	88.7	91.5	Swiss	90.4	92.1	89.8	Swiss	88.1	94.3	93.0
Denomination											
Protestant	47.0	53.5	50.7	Protestant	37.7	41.5	35.7	Protestant	35.1	40.2	37.2
Catholic	48.7	33.1	43.1	Catholic	54.9	46.3	57.0	Catholic	41.9	37.6	41.4
Other	1.5	4.2	1.0	Other	3.3	3.7	2.5	Other	9.1	5.5	7.0
None	2.8	9.2	5.2	None	4.2	8.5	4.8	None	13.8	16.7	14.4
Region											
City + agglo. area	52.1	73.2	52.9	City area	15.7	27.5	21.9	City area	16.7	22.9	19.6
Rural area	47.9	26.8	47.1	Middle sized town	28.2	30.3	32.0	Middle sized town	73.7	70.2	71.1
				Rural area	56.2	42.2	46.1	Rural area	9.5	7.0	9.2

Relative frequencies, in %. Consumption patterns (IA: Inactives; IH: Intense highbrows; ME: Moderate eclectics) calculated on the basis of K-means cluster analyses (3 clusters, Euclidean dist.) of each year's first two MCA dimensions.
(1) Gross monthly household income.